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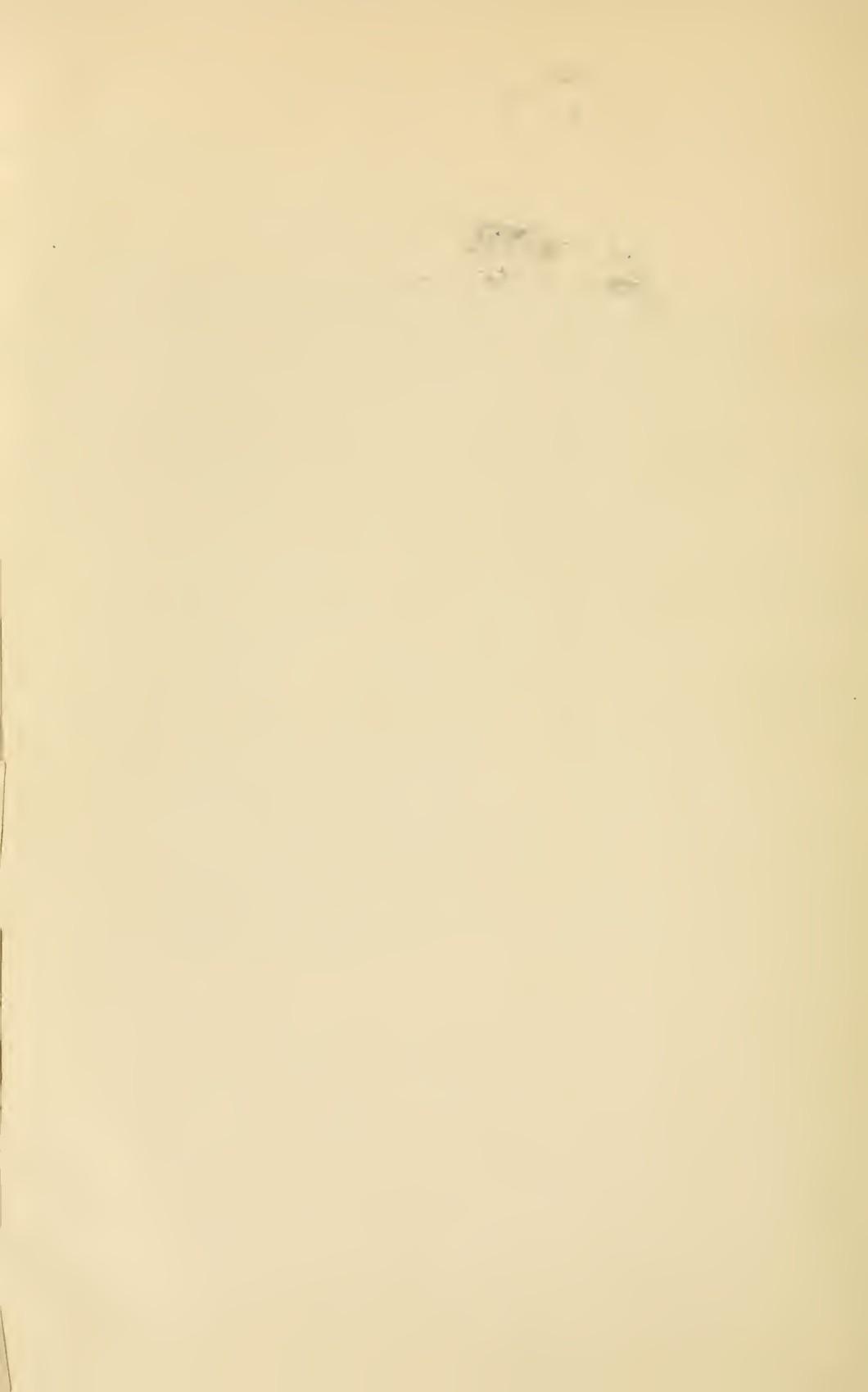


LOUIS XIV DELIVERING TO CHEVILLIER DE CADILLAC,
THE ORDINANCE AND GRANT FOR THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF DETROIT.

PRESSENTED IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC BY HIS EXCELLENCY M.
JULES CAMBON, AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE TO THE UNITED STATES.

NOVEMBER 1902.

(F. LE QUESENE.)



The
Bi-Centenary
OF
THE FOUNDING OF
CITY OF DETROIT
1701-1901

BEING THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CELEBRATION
OF JULY 24, 25, 26, 1901

Issued under direction of the
COMMON COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF DETROIT
1902

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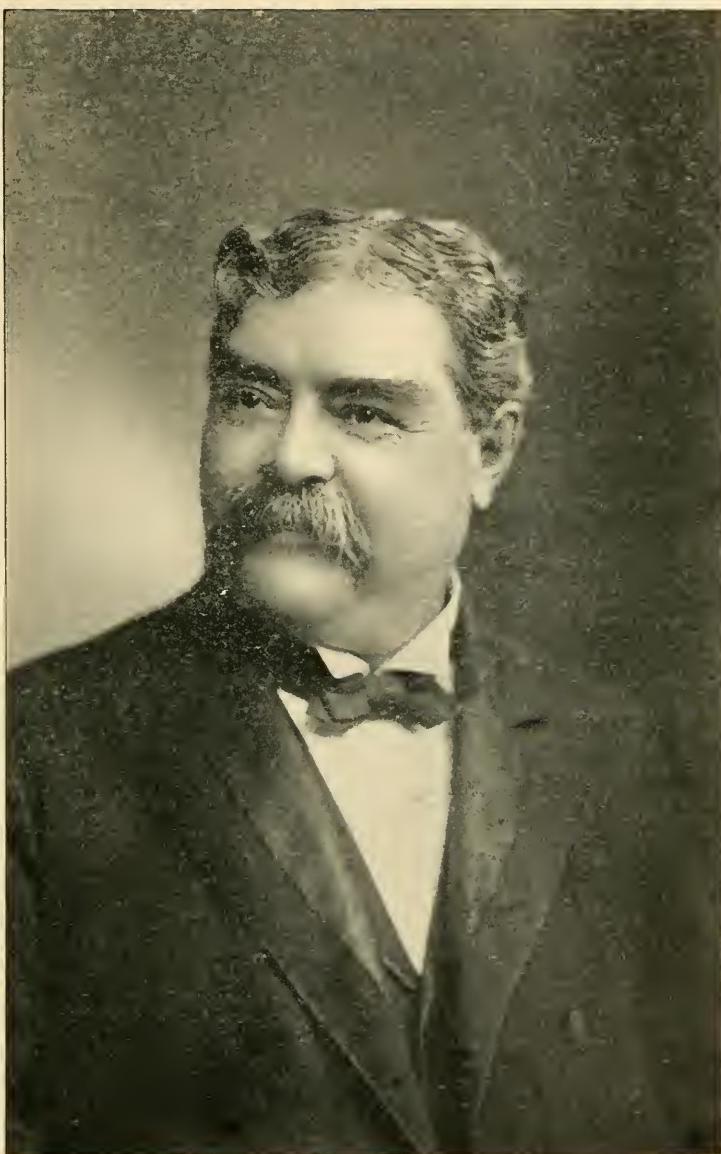
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WILLIAM C. MAYBURY

Mayor of Detroit.

INTRODUCTORY.

The approach of the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the City of Detroit awakened an intense interest in the event, in the minds of our citizens. The question, how fittingly to celebrate the occasion and commemorate an event of so transcendent importance, was uppermost in the minds of all those who felt the impulse of civic pride and local patriotism.

A prompt and encouraging response was given to the call of the Mayor, and numerous and representative gatherings of our citizens were held. Out of these meetings came many plans and proposals, all of which had excellent claims for public approval. It, therefore, became necessary that a process of selection be adopted so that whatever was at once practicable and altogether worthy of so important an event, might ultimately be adopted and carried into effect.

It will ever be matter of deep regret among those who cherish a love for Detroit, and a pride in her fair honor, that the plan for a permanent and splendid memorial, to be erected at the foot of Belle Isle, was not accomplished. The genius that conceived that glorious scheme, and the generosity of a few of our wealthy citizens deserved a worthier fate.

Certainly, if any city on the American continent deserved an elaborate memorial on reaching its bi-centenary, Detroit is that city.

Its history in many particulars is so unique and peculiar, its age for an American city so remarkable, and

its natural and artificial attractions so numerous and universally pleasing, that as was well said, Detroit is worthy of the best.

The story of its earlier life is as attractive as a French romance of medieval times, the courage and daring, the vivacity and energy of its first settlers, the womanly virtues of its earliest wives and mothers and maidens, together with the happy combination of thrift and courtesy, vigor and pertinacity, coupled with love of beauty and financial foresight possessed by later citizens, have given us a heritage of which every one may well be proud.

The relation of the city to the early Indian life of the West and to the various wars between the tribes, and between the settlers as well, makes our records peculiarly thrilling. Its annals are crowded with tales of plots, sieges, battles, forays and all the concomitants of war.

The conspicuous place occupied by Detroit during the War of the Revolution, and the active part taken by the Loyalists and Indians connected with this post in that long struggle, form a notable chapter in American history.

Because of its connection with the New England States which sent thousands of emigrants to this region at the beginning of the second century of the city's life, its Bi-centenary interested citizens in all these States.

Its past is also interwoven with that of all of the older Northwest, for in its beginnings it was not only one of the main trading posts, but also for many years the political center and seat of government of a large region which now includes several States and many of the great cities of the West.



GEORGE W. FOWLE

Chief Marshal.

The celebration of the two hundredth birthday of our city, as described and recounted in the following pages, was in every respect and detail most worthy the great event commemorated, and as an object lesson, of inestimable value, especially to the youth of our community. The universal interest and enthusiasm shown by the citizens of Detroit in the events of these days of commemoration reflected great credit upon them for intelligence and local pride.

Those days of celebration were crowded with the events of two centuries of the city's life. Like a panorama the two hundred years sped by, and all their varied history was told again and most vividly reproduced. It is a privilege to claim citizenship in Detroit in this beginning of a new century of the world and of our city's life, and certainly this generation of our citizens has the highest inspiration to civic pride in the worthy celebration of the city's birthday, in the midst of her greatest glory of natural beauty and civil prosperity and peace.

The observance of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Detroit had been brought to the attention of the public by the press of the city, during the two years preceding 1901.

The intelligent minds among our people were in accord as to the propriety of marking the occurrence of the birthday of the city in a manner becoming its great population, its wealth and its rank among the cities of the American Union.

William C. Maybury, Mayor of Detroit, inaugurated the preliminary movements, by calling, by special invitation, a meeting of such of his fellow citizens as he be-

lieved would co-operate with him in shaping the form the commemoration might take. This meeting convened on the evening of February 28, 1901, in the Mayor's office. The response was general, and the assemblage was called to order by Hon. Robert Barrie, chairman of the Bi-Centenary Committee of the Common Council, which, in the meantime, had been formed.

The Mayor opened the proceedings with an address, in which he outlined in general terms his suggestions for a public celebration to commemorate the Bi-centenary of the founding of Detroit; he then called successively upon the prominent citizens present for an exchange of views as to the manner in which the proposed celebration might be made a success.

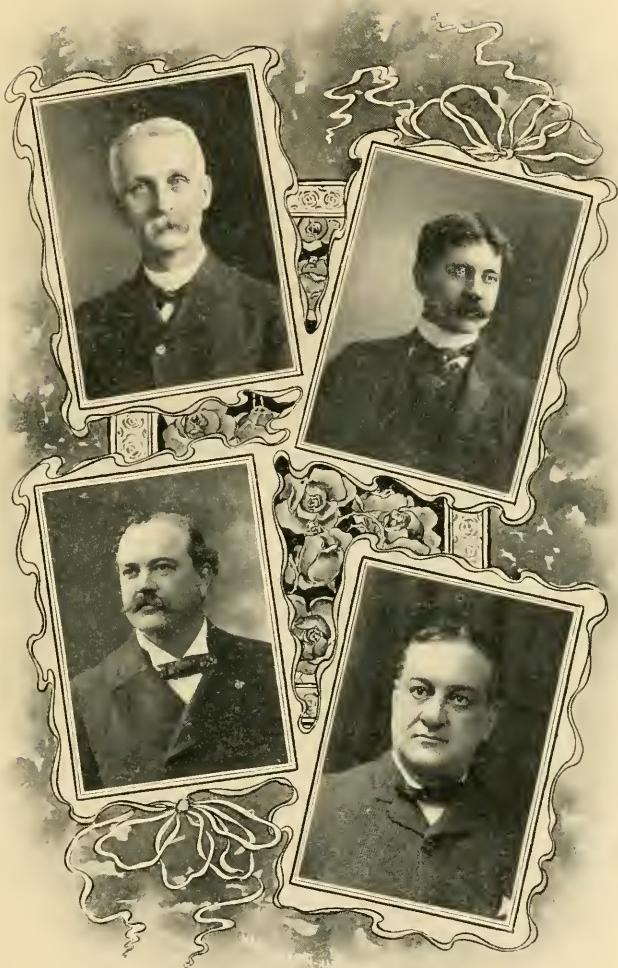
But, while the respective responses evinced a cheerful willingness to co-operate, no definite suggestion was made as to the form which the proposed celebration should take.

Finally, Rev. C. L. Arnold moved: "That it is the sense of this meeting, that there should be an appropriate celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Detroit, according to plans to be formulated by the committee to be appointed for this purpose."

This was amended by Mr. James E. Scripps, authorizing the Mayor to appoint an executive committee, and from time to time, sub-committees, which motion as thus amended was adopted.

The Mayor stated that in appointing these committees he would select those only who agreed to work.

This ended the preliminary meeting. It was apparent that the form the celebration might take would depend,



D. C. DELAMATER
ALEX. I. MCLEOD

A. H. GRIFFITH
FRED T. MORAN

more or less, upon the suggestions the Mayor would make to the Executive Committee he should select.

At the second meeting, held on the evening of March 4, the Mayor announced the Executive Committee to consist of the following gentlemen:

D. C. Delamater, G. W. Fowle, A. H. Griffith, C. M. Hayes, A. I. McLeod, J. C. Hutchins, F. T. Moran, J. E. Saxton, A. A. Schantz, A. M. Seymour, with Clarence A. Cotton, the Mayor's Secretary.

To the active co-operation of these gentlemen in developing the suggestions of Mayor Maybury, the citizens of Detroit are indebted for the success of its Bi-centennial celebration.

The Executive Committee was called to meet in the Mayor's office on forty-two evenings, thirty-eight of which were presided over by the Mayor in person, the other four by Alderman Barrie.

In all the preliminary work of the forming of the outlines of the Bi-centenary celebration, and subsequently, in the selection of the respective sub-committees, Clarence A. Cotton, secretary of the Mayor, rendered effective, valuable, and at the same time gratuitous service, relieving the Mayor as well as the members of the Executive Committee, of much of the details which would otherwise have occupied their time.

The correspondence itself was quite extensive, requiring much time and careful attention. It was an important feature in the preliminary work, and it was judiciously and satisfactorily performed by Mr. Cotton. Subsequently, the Executive Committee was enlarged by the

addition of J. J. Haarer, President of the Common Council, and F. A. Blades, Controller of the City.

On March 11, the Common Council appropriated \$25,000.

On March 19 the Executive Committee reported as follows:

To the Special Bi-Centenary Committee of the Common Council:

Gentlemen—The undersigned, a committee designated to consider plans for the celebration of the Bi-centenary of Detroit would respectfully report that, after mature consideration, they are unanimously agreed that in some form the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Detroit should be celebrated, and in a manner befitting the historic importance and dignity of the occasion. We first suggest that the celebration include Wednesday and Thursday, the 24th and 25th of July.

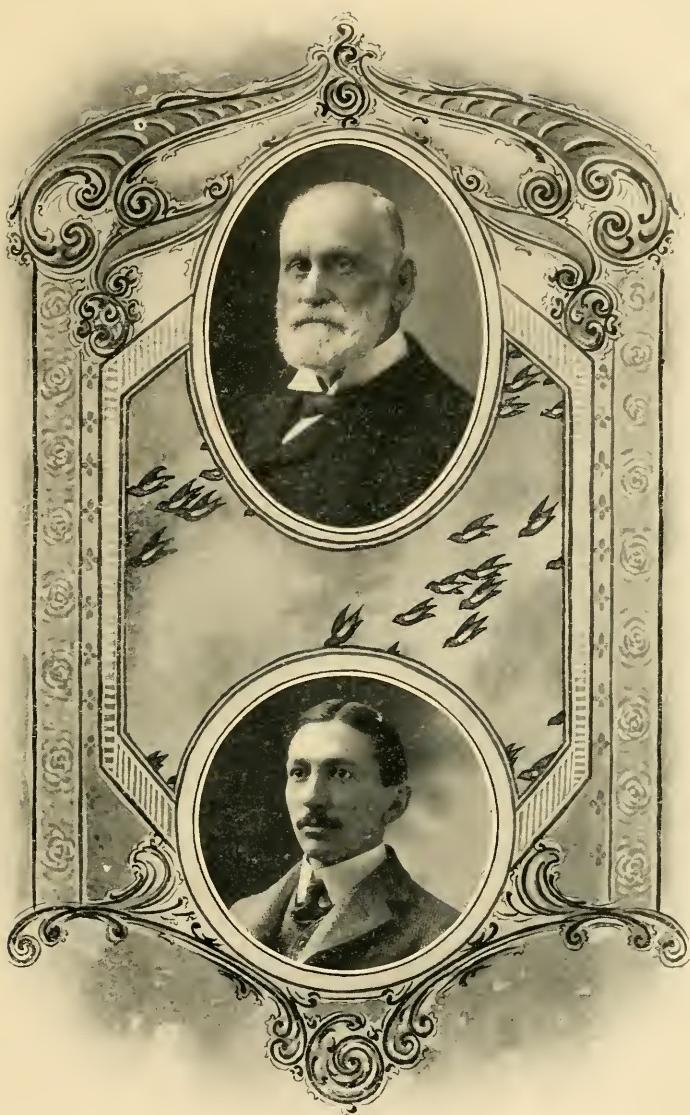
We would recommend that Wednesday morning be given up to the reception of distinguished guests who may be invited to participate in the ceremonies.

Among the guests whom we suggest for invitation are all the descendants that can be found of those who were the first settlers of Detroit.

We believe the occasion to be of sufficient dignity to warrant that it be graced by the presence of the President of the United States and his official cabinet.

The close relation between the founding of Detroit and the growth and development of the great northwest, more especially the States of Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, and Wisconsin, suggest that the Governors of these respective States should be invited guests; together with the Governor-General of Canada; the Mayors of Quebec and Montreal, those of other border cities, and such other persons as may be hereafter suggested.

The historic exercises on the afternoon of July 24, to be held at some suitable place, of which notice will be given, will



F. A. BLADES, CITY CONTROLLER

HOWARD BECK DEPUTY CONTROLLER

be opened with a suitable oration, to be followed by a historical outline of the City of Detroit by historians, and by brief addresses by invited guests. These exercises will be preceded by a prayer and closed with a benediction from the religious dignitaries selected.

Immediately after the close of the exercises on the afternoon of the first day, a naval parade, representing as nearly as possible the original escort of Cadillac, to come down the river from above Belle Isle, land just before sundown at the foot of Shelby street, there to be received by a deputation representing the Indian tribes then resident in this neighborhood, and by the civic authorities. Cadillac and his followers will be escorted to the Campus Martius and there welcomed to the city. The evening of the first day will be given up to a magnificent parade upon the river, with brilliant illuminations upon the shore, with fireworks from the floats and other details to be developed.

The revenue cutters of the United States Government upon the lakes should be in line on this occasion, and all the shipping interests on the lakes should be requested to add something to the display.

SECOND DAY, JULY 25.

At 10 o'clock in the forenoon of this day the formal dedication of some memorial with proper ceremony, should the same be decided upon.

AFTERNOON OF JULY 25.

A grand review of art, commerce and manufactures; past, present and prospective, in the City of Detroit. The first division and other divisions to be as hereinafter described.

FIRST DIVISION.

Escort of mounted police. Detachment of Indians. Representation of the early French settlers. Rangers, Hunters, French troops, British troops, Continentals, soldiers of 1812, veterans of the Mexican war, veterans of 1861, soldiers and sailors of the Spanish-American war, and the State troops, Independent Military Companies and the United States Regulars.

SECOND DIVISION.

At least 1,000 school children, selected by the proper authorities from the public, the parochial, and other schools of Detroit. This number might be increased if practicable.

THIRD DIVISION.

Representatives of the early guardian of the peace, watchmen, criers, constables, marshals; the division to close with a review of the present police department.

FOURTH DIVISION.

The early fire brigade, with buckets and very early equipment. Several of the old division hand engines, drawn by men dressed in the red flannel shirts and helmets, with dark trousers, of early days. The division to close with a parade of our present up-to-date fire department.

FIFTH DIVISION.

The development of the mail service is to be represented by horsemen with saddle-bags for letters, stage coaches carrying the mails in the early times. This division to close with the parade of the present carrier force.

SIXTH DIVISION.

Civic and patriotic societies uniformed, of every character, followed by bodies not in uniform, fraternal societies, trades unions and all other societies of kindred character.

SEVENTH DIVISION.

Automobile and wheelmen's display. Merchants and manufacturers to have charge of the remainder of this division, showing the growth of every art and industry we have, especially every industry and art at present flourishing in our city. The splendid displays made on one or more occasions by our manufacturers insures, as your Committee believes, a magnificent display in this division of the arts and industries.



MAURICE J. KEATING

WILLIAM HILLGER

ALDERMANIC COMMITTEE

JOHN WEIBEL

ROBT. BARRIE

Transportation feature, showing the early means of transit, from the Indian method to the stage coach, wagon or ox teams, up to the most complete and magnificent conveyances of modern times.

EVENING, JULY 25.

The evening of the 25th is to be given up to an allegorical review of stirring events in the history of the City of Detroit. The following groups are suggested:

No. 1. Contingents of Indian tribes once resident in this neighborhood. Your Committee believe that it will be possible to get at least 100 Indians of different tribes to be present on the occasion, as the Government has agreed to the transportation of 600 Indians to Buffalo, where they will be encamped at this time. We believe no difficulty will be found in having a detachment here to take their part in this celebration.

No. 2. Francois Dollier and De Galinee landing at Belle Isle, erecting a cross and attaching thereto the coat-of-arms of France, 1670.

No. 3. White men breaking up the Indian idols and casting them into the river, 1610. [sic]

No. 4. La Salle, passing up the strait in the "Griffon" in 1679, the first boat built by Europeans, having Fathers Hennepin, Membre, and Ribourd on board.

No. 5. Cadillac's interview with the Count de Pontchartrain, in Paris in 1700, with a view to have Detroit made a permanent post.

No. 6. Cadillac's landing at Detroit in July, 1701, with 50 soldiers and 50 artisans and settlers.

No. 7. Death of Father De L'Halle in 1706, and the soldier La Riviers, outside the palisades of Fort Pontchartrain by hostile Indians.

No. 8. Deputation of Ottawas appear before Cadillac to surrender the chief, Le Pesant, as a guarantee of peace.

No. 9. Detachment of volunteer French militia soldiers under command of the Chevalier Bellestre, going to Quebec in 1755 to fight the English.

No. 10. Surrender of Fort Pontchartrain by the Chevalier Bellestre, last of the French commandants, to the British under Rogers.

No. 11. Pontiac refuses to accept the terms of the treaty of Paris, between the French and English, surrendering Canada, following the fall of Montcalm.

No. 12. Disclosure of Pontiac's plan to capture the British garrison at Detroit, by an Indian maiden.

No. 13. Pontiac besieges the fort at Detroit.

No. 14. Scene from the battle of Bloody Bridge.

No. 15. Lieut.-Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, who, with a force of Indians and British regulars, had captured the fort at Vincennes, defeated by General George Rogers Clark, and sent with his staff in irons to Virginia.

No. 16. Raising the Stars and Stripes in 1796, for the first time at Detroit.

No. 17. First detachment of U. S. troops arrive at Detroit.

No. 18. First printing press in the Western States, set up by Father Gabriel Richard at Detroit in 1809, on which he published Scriptural and other works.

No. 19. The first steamboat, the "Walk in the Water," arrives at Detroit.

This allegorical display may be greatly enriched with scenes of historic interest; but the success of this feature of the celebration will depend much on the extent of the interest manifested by patriotic citizens interested in history, and especially by the descendants of the early French settlers, who would feel a pride in commemorating the acts of their ancestors.

Suggestions from any section of our citizens in this connection will be cheerfully received and considered.



GUS. A. SCHANTZ

JERE C. HUTCHINS

JESSE SAXTON

C. M. HAYES

J. J. HAARER

Your Committee is not unmindful of the admirable results of the influence of women in the formation of the present City of Detroit, in its moral, social and religious life; and it is the purpose of this Committee, if their work be continued, to ask the ladies of the city to organize and designate what part or place in the program suggested, or what division may be reserved for them, in presenting the ensemble, which would be incomplete, did it not contain an outline of the record of heroism, fidelity and patriotism that has illustrated the life of womanhood in this city.

Your Committee desires to urge the project heretofore discussed of marking even temporarily, and for the future perhaps, old historical landmarks in Detroit; such, for instance, as the location of the old barracks, the fort and flag-staff, the first council house, the original home of General Cass, Joseph Campau's home, and the site of the battle of Bloody Bridge, the old navy yard, etc.

Your Committee desires to express its very great thanks to the Special Committee of the Common Council for the great interest taken by them as a committee in the consideration of the plan formulated. And they are pleased to know, that on its submission, it was both individually, and as a Committee, approved.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM C. MAYBURY,
D. C. DELAMATER,
C. M. HAYES,
J. E. SAXTON,
A. A. SCHANTZ,
A. H. GRIFFITH,
F. T. MORAN,
GEORGE W. FOWLE,
ALEX. I. McLEOD
A. M. SEYMOUR,
CLARENCE A. COTTON, Secretary,
Executive Committee.

The Common Council Special Committee on the Bicentennial celebration, referred to above, comprised: Robert Barrie, Chairman, and Aldermen W. H. Coots, M. J. Keating, J. Weibel and W. Hillger. To carry out the respective features of the commemorative ceremonies, as outlined by the Executive Committee, sub-committees were appointed and announced through the press.

After the fourteenth meeting of the Executive Committee, Mr. Clarence A. Cotton, Secretary of the Mayor, resigned from this committee April 29.

Mr. F. H. Wakefield was appointed to succeed Mr. Cotton as Secretary of the Executive Committee at a fixed salary. When he assumed the position, he found a well-arranged system which had been in a great measure perfected by his predecessor. For sub-committees see Appendix A.

After many Executive Committee meetings, and after many meetings and conferences of the respective sub-committees, Mayor Maybury was finally enabled to announce through the press the official program of the grand pageant, which was to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of Detroit, by the Chevalier Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, in July, 1701.

The ceremonial proposed was such as had never before been promulgated in Detroit. It was grand and proper in its inception; poetic in its allegorical features; unbounded in its extent; and most generous in all its appointments.

It was a deserved honor which the city of the present day proposed, after two centuries, to pay to its distinguished and heroic founder.



CLARENCE A. COTTON, MAYOR'S SECRETARY

F. A. WAKEFIELD, SEC. EXECUTIVE COM.

THE CELEBRATION.

FIRST DAY—WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 1901.

At sunrise a national salute of 21 guns was given by U. S. revenue cutters "Fessenden" and "Morell" and U. S. steamer "Michigan."

At 6 a. m. two hundred strokes were tolled by the City Hall bell.

The opening exercises of the Bi-centennial commemoration on the first day, July 24, was the dedication at 10 a. m. of the Chair of Justice, symbolic of the judicial and military rule of the founder of Detroit.

The outline of the chair was the work of Messrs. Grills and Mills of Architect John Scott's office. It was cut from a solid block of Lake Superior red stone, quarried near Portage Lake; it is about six feet high and rests on a foundation of two hundred cubic feet of solid masonry.

Its location is opposite the east side of the Soldiers' Monument, at the head of Cadillac Park, about where, in former years, was the entrance to the old City Hall.

At ten o'clock a. m. Mayor Maybury, accompanied by the Executive Committee, and Chief Justice Moore, of the Supreme Court, arrived. France was represented by M. de Margerie and the consuls-general of Montreal and Chicago, and the local French element by Messrs. Belanger, Rousseau and Tossy.

The Metropolitan band furnished the music. The chair was draped with the Stars and Stripes. After the invocation of Rev. C. L. Arnold, Mayor Maybury addressed the assemblage, saying that the chair was dedicated to justice and equality; that it stood also on the site of the old City Hall, in which was the court house in the early days of modern Detroit, and mentioned the names of several judges who sat on the bench, and of eminent lawyers who practiced in the court.

Professor Griffith then spoke of "The Symbolism" of the coat of arms of Cadillac, cut on the head of the chair, which had no motto on its scroll.

Silas Farmer, City Historiographer and Chairman of the Tablet Committee, told how the Chair came to be selected as a symbol of the first settlement by Cadillac and the founding of Detroit, and related facts connected with the historic site on which the Chair is located. (See article contained herein entitled "Historic Tablets and Memorials.")

Senator T. W. Palmer had been invited to deliver the address of the day, but as he was not present, Clarence M. Burton was called upon to speak in the Senator's place.

Although unprepared to deliver such an address, Mr. Burton gave an interesting sketch of the life of Cadillac, the result of his own researches: "Cadillac," he said, "was a Gascon, the son of a member of Parliament, or councilor, from Toulouse. France was exceedingly poor during the reign of Louis XIV, the Grand Monarch, who squandered money as never before had any previous king. Many people had to leave the country to seek a livelihood



REV. C. L. ARNOLD, D. D.

SILAS FARMER
CITY HISTORIOGR ATHEN

beyond the seas, and among these was Cadillac. On a house in Montreal is a metal plate with the inscription : "Here in 1694, lived Cadillac." This house was occupied at that date by a man named La Mothe, probably an uncle or relative of Cadillac. The founder of this city became acquainted with, and entered into the service of M. Francois Guion, a ship owner ; and for a time followed the sea ; during one of his visits to Quebec he met a daughter of this gentleman, whom he subsequently married. In 1694, he was commandant at Michilimacinac, but subsequently induced the French Government to establish a post at Detroit as a barrier to the English, who were threatening to take possession of this locality."

Mr. Burton then outlined Cadillac's career at Detroit ; the annoying persecution of his enemies at Quebec, where he was detained and placed on trial ; his triumph and return to Detroit ; his subsequent career as commandant ; his promotion to the control of Louisiana ; his return to France and death. The hymn "America" was then sung by the assemblage, who uncovered while Rev. Ernest Van Dyke pronounced the benediction. The band played the "Star Spangled Banner" and the dedication ceremonies were ended.

At noon the flag which was the standard of France under Louis XIV. was hoisted on the City Hall tower and saluted by two hundred strokes of the bell, one for each year in the history of the city.

In the afternoon of the same day the historical exercises were held in the Light Guard Armory, under the auspices of the Historical Committee at 2 o'clock.

The great audience which assembled, and which filled the large auditorium, evinced the keen interest taken by citizens in the Bi-centennial celebration.

The Mayor presided, and in opening the meeting called upon the Rev. George Elliott, D. D., to offer prayer, which he did in the following words:

“Almighty and Eternal God, Who art the dwelling place of all the generations of earth, in whose shelter our fathers dwelt and were secure, we, their children, bring our weakness to the safe hiding place of Thy power and our human need to the sure refuge of Thy love.

“We have heard with our ears and our fathers have told us the noble works that Thou didst in their days and in the old time before them. Accept, O bountiful God, our praise and thanksgiving for Thy guidance and goodness shown to them and to us who are the unworthy inheritors of the work they wrought in the love of Thee and the faith of Thy holy name. Enriched by noble memories of Thy kindness to them and their fidelity to Thee, grant us such a due sense of all Thy mercies that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful, and that we may show forth Thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives, by giving ourselves up to Thy service and by walking before Thee in holiness and righteousness all our days.

“Almighty God, Who in the former times didst lead our fathers forth into a wealthy place, give Thy grace, we beseech Thee, to us their children, that we may always approve ourselves a people mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will. Bless our land with honorable industry, sound learning and pure manners. Defend our liberties, preserve our unity, save us from violence, discord, from pride and every evil way.



HON. T. W. PALMER
PRES. JAS. B. ANGELL
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT
HON. PETER WHITE
C. M. BURTON

"Fashion into one happy people the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues.

"In the time of prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in the time of trouble, suffer not our trust in Thee to fail.

"O Thou King of Kings and Prince of all the rulers of the earth, give Thy grace and spirit to all Christian rulers, the spirit of wisdom and counsel, and the spirit of godly fear. May they be inspired by Thee to rule in righteousness, rejoice in peace, shine in piety, and labor for the well-being of the people committed to them.

"Remember, we beseech Thee, Thy servants, the President of the United States, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Michigan, the Mayor of this City of Detroit, with all legislators and magistrates joined with them in the Divine trust of public office, and so direct them that in all their thoughts, words and works, they may ever seek Thy honor and glory, and study to preserve Thy people in wealth, peace and godliness.

"O God, we are especially bound this day to implore Thy continued blessings upon the President and people of the French Republic. Help them to preserve the liberty, equality and fraternity won through sacrifice and struggle, and to maintain among the nations of earth their leadership in the arts of life, in gracious manners and the gifts of civilization.

"Let Thy sovereign blessing abide with the ruler and realm of Great Britain, the blessing of ordered liberty, religious freedom and beneficent dominion.

"O, Thou gracious Father of mercy, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on Thy servants who bow our heads and hearts to Thee; pardon and forgive us all our sins; give us the grace of holy repentance and strict obedience to Thy Holy Word; strengthen us in the inner man with the power of the Holy Ghost, for all the parts and duties of our calling and holy living; preserve us forever in the unity of Thy Holy Catholic Church, in the love of God and our neighbors and in the hope of life eternal.

"Direct us, O Lord, through these festival days in all our doings and further us with Thy continual help, that in all our works, begun, continued, and ended in Thee, we may glorify Thy Holy Name, and finally, by Thy mercy, obtain everlasting life through Jesus Christ our Lord.

"Our Father, Who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven; give us this day our daily bread; forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, forever and ever. Amen."

The Mayor then introduced Miss Mary Catherine Crowley, Detroit's noted authoress, the subject of whose address was: "The Social Life of Cadillac, Madam Cadillac and the people of 1701." Miss Crowley's address was followed by "The Political Life of Detroit Under the French Regime," by Richard R. Elliott, which was followed by "Detroit Under British Rule," by Clarence M.



MISS MARY CATHERINE CROWLEY

AUTHOR OF "A DAUGHTER OF NEW FRANCE"

Burton. "God Save the King" was then rendered by Schremser's band.

Silas Farmer, Historiographer of Detroit, and author of its History, then read a paper entitled "Detroit Under the Governor and Judges." A musical interlude followed, during which the "Star Spangled Banner" was rendered by Schremser's band.

Hon. Thomas W. Palmer was then introduced and read a paper on "Detroit in the Revolution." President James B. Angell of the University of Michigan delivered an extemporaneous address, the subject of which was: "The Preservation of Historic Landmarks, and Their Influence on History and Patriotism."

Hon. Peter White, of Marquette, was next introduced. The subject selected by this famous pioneer of the Lake Superior regions was "Relation of Detroit to Michigan." It was treated in an agreeable and humorous manner, peculiar to its author. An interlude of music followed.

The Mayor then introduced M. Pierre de Margerie Charge d'Affaires of the Embassy of France at Washington, and the official representative of the French Republic to the Bi-Centennial of Detroit.

M. de Margerie wore the brilliant court dress of French diplomats, and spoke in the language of his country. He paid a tribute to Detroit and spoke of the breeding of sociability, comfort and refinement wherever women appeared, as evidenced by the arrival of Madam Cadillac in the settlement of Detroit, and the presence of so many ladies "this sultry afternoon to cool the air with their busy fans." He also paid a high tribute of respect

to President Angel, whom he knew in Constantinople. Mayor Maybury and others were also included in the general eulogy. At the conclusion of his address in French the diplomat surprised the audience by breaking into English, which was greeted by applause.

"Well, ladies and gentlemen," he said; "I desire, in the name of the French Government and also in my own to wish Detroit long life and prosperity."

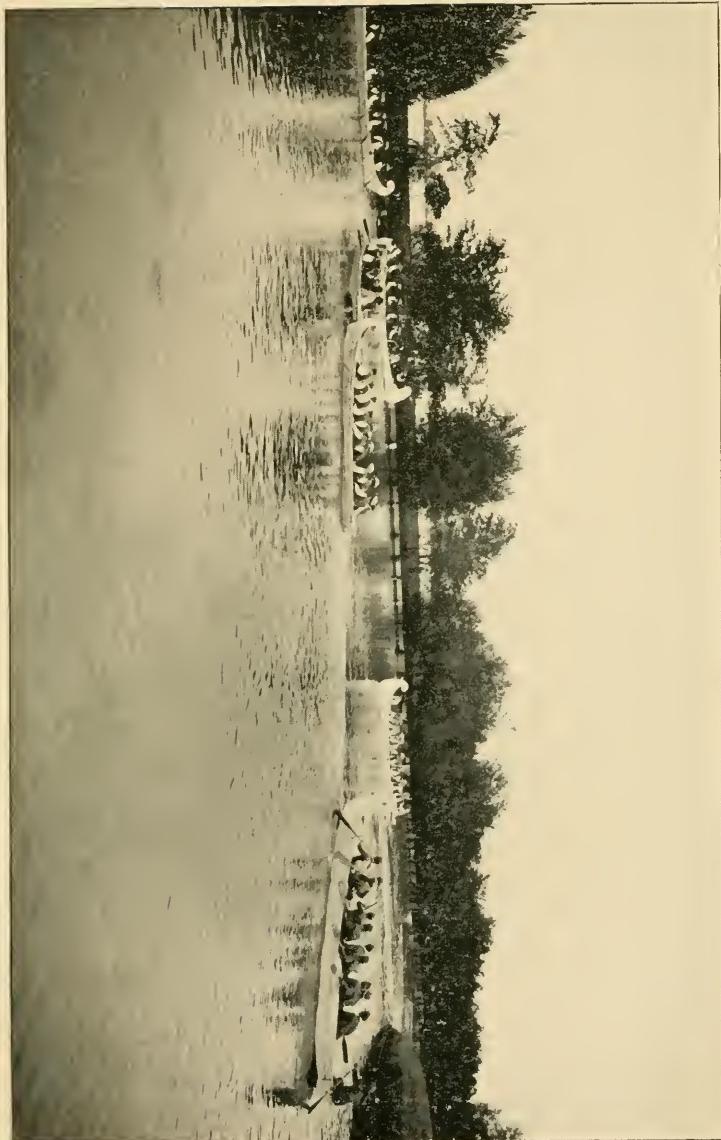
After the conclusion of the historical exercises, this benediction was given by the Rt. Rev. John D. Foley, D. D., Bishop of Detroit:

"We pray Thee, O God of might, wisdom and justice, through Whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted and judgment decreed, assist with Thy holy spirit of counsel and fortitude, the President of the United States, that his administration may be conducted in righteousness, and be eminently useful to Thy people, over whom he presides; by encouraging due respect for virtue and religion; by a faithful execution of the laws in justice and mercy; and by restraining vice and immorality.

"Let the light of Thy divine wisdom direct the deliberations of Congress, and shine forth in all the proceedings and laws framed for our rule and government; so that they may tend to the preservation of peace, the promotion of national happiness, the increase of industry, sobriety and useful knowledge; and may perpetuate to us the blessings of equal liberty.

"We pray for His Excellency, the Governor of this State, for the members of Legislature, for all judges, magistrates and other officers who are appointed to guard

THE "CADILLAC FLOTILLA" AT PECHE ISLAND.



our political welfare; that they may be enabled, by Thy powerful protection, to discharge the duties of their respective stations with honesty and ability.

"We recommend likewise to Thy unbounded mercy all our brethren and fellow citizens throughout the United States, that they may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Thy most holy laws; that they may be preserved in union, and in that peace which the world cannot give; and, after enjoying the blessings of this life, be admitted to those which are eternal.

"Through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen!"

The evening arrangements provided that at five o'clock p. m., the U. S. R. Cutter Fessenden, at the foot of Randolph street, should take on board the Cadillac party, Mayor Maybury and the distinguished guests of the city.

As they stepped on board, the Tri-Color was hoisted on the Fessenden and a salute fired. The bark then proceeded up stream to Peche Island, leaving at 5 o'clock, and at 6 o'clock fired the signal gun for the embarkation of Cadillac and his party.

The canoes were towed by a launch down the American side of Belle Isle until the vicinity of the bridge was reached, when the lines were cast off and the remainder of the distance covered by good hard paddling.

The intention was to have the fleet of canoes pass down the river as far as the foot of Third street, and then return to the foot of Randolph street, in imitation of

Cadillac's trip, which, it is said, extended to Grassy Island before he turned back and selected his landing place.

At the dock there was a party of Indians, the remainder of the one hundred from the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, guided by Messrs. L. E. Tossy and C. M. Rousseau, with their own interpreters.

On the arrival of the Fessenden and the canoes, the two bodies of men marched via Atwater street and Woodward avenue to the intersection of Jefferson and Woodward avenues. There the soldiers formed in a hollow square about Cadillac, the priests, and some others, and a cross was erected.

The throngs of people had jammed in so that it was no small task to recover the space necessary for the band of French and Indians. It was accomplished however, and the Indians came up forming a hollow square inside of which the soldiers and the voyageurs took their positions.

In the midde of this open space Cadillac and his staff stood for a few minutes.

Then the order was given to present arms. Father De L'Halle planted the cross; and with drawn sword the Chevalier Cadillac announced:

"Au nom du Roi de France, je prends possession de cette terre; et je plante le drapeau de Louis quatorze Roi de France!" As he thus spoke Cadillac flourished his sword in his right hand, and grounded the French standard with his left. Then the soldiers grounded their arms and all those in the center of the hollow square knelt upon the ground.



COL. CASPER H. SCHULTE

Chief of Staff.

With his hands upon the cross Father De L'Halle offered up a prayer, as the Recollet monk had done two hundred years before, that religion might spread throughout the land. While they still knelt, the Iroquoian Jesuit missionary, Father Valliant, thanked the Almighty for the success of the journey they had accomplished without accident, and for the territory which had been acquired.

The procession was then reformed, and preceded by a platoon of police and the Metropolitan band which played the inspiring notes of the "Marsellaise," moved up Woodward avenue surrounded by vast crowds of interested spectators, marched down West Fort street and from thence along Shelby street, Michigan avenue, and Washington avenue to Grand Circus Park, and finally down Woodward avenue to the grand stand built on the east side of the City Hall, where it rested.

The Mayor then welcomed the Chevalier Cadillac and his followers in the following address:

"Monsieur Chevalier de La Mothe Cadillac and Gentlemen:

I greet you and welcome you, on behalf of this great multitude, back to the scenes of your labors of two centuries ago.

The wisdom of your choice of this beautiful spot as the appropriate site of a great city, has been ever manifest, and we and those who have preceded us, have been benefited through your wise judgment.

Health in all its relations to human happiness and human progress, has been our marked and inestimable heritage.

That the countless blessings which we and our ancestors have enjoyed were in a large measure assured by your early and fervent consecration of this land to religion and to God, we firmly believe.

The outward conditions are changed and the environments of the present have little in common with the associations of long ago.

Of all these outward evidences only the sun by day and the moon and the starry constellations of night, with the current of our majestic river, remain unchanged.

These mute witnesses of your first landing have stood sentinel in all the years and lent their gracious aid and encouragement in the up-building of this one zion, whose foundation was the work of your hand.

One other evidence remains to remind you of the past, in the presence of the children of the forest and plain who have come to salute you as their ancestor did of yore; but we grieve to say that they are but a sad remnant of the powerful race that first extended to you a friendly hand, who were then the sole and undisputed owners of the soil.

They have followed the course of the sun westward, and as its rays of brightness fade at its decline, so are they fading from the land where once they ruled.

Your first welcome was by comparatively few, but now you are welcomed by many.



CHIEF RED CLOUD
who took part in the parade.

Your first welcome was by one race of people only, while those who welcome you to-day hail from every clime, and creed, and nation.

We beg you to tarry with us as our honored guests, while we manifest in every way, in art, in music and in industry, the progress of two centuries, coupled with our delight at your return.

We would have you believe that we have not been unfaithful stewards of the trust committed to our care, and that our endeavor is to be patriotic, progressive and peaceful.

Again, I greet you and extend to you a cordial welcome, and with this greeting, I deliver to you the keys to the city, as you already hold the keys to our hearts."

Professor H. E. Racicot with ninety trained voices then rendered "La Marsellaise" and "O, Canada," as hymns, and "The Star Spangled Banner" on the grand stand with great effect.

After receiving the keys, the Chevalier Cadillac responded as follows:

"Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

"Inspired with emotions aroused by your address of welcome, while handing me the keys of this city, I accept the expression of the cordial hospitality manifested to myself and to my fellow adventurers, and the hearty greeting of the people of Detroit whom you represent.

If the praise of an entire people is based on a common truth, then this eulogy is well deserved. I have noticed Mr. Mayor, the changes which time has wrought, and it was not without wonderment that myself and my

attendants did so, while we greeted them with exclamations of astonishment. For miles and miles along the shore, up and down stream, where erstwhile the deer and the wild animals of the forest roamed, may be seen gigantic structures towering high; the tall steeples of churches, and the lofty smoke-stacks of great factories and of mechanical works.

While along the shores above and below this great city, as far up, and even above, Grosse Pointe on the Ste. Claire, and as far down as where the stream turns Sandwich Point, slightly villas greeted our vision.

This village of Detroit, Mr. Mayor, has undergone a marvelous transformation. Were it not for its natural surroundings on land and water, while time has not changed their original outlines — the stream through which flow the waters of the great lakes above on their way to Lake Erie and the Atlantic Ocean; the shores and islands, rendered, perhaps, still more attractive during the progress of civilization, and the beautiful bay on whose western shore the modern city has been built—we should have had some doubts that we had reached the locality we sought.

There have been political changes of great importance. France has lost her colonies in America.

The Bourbons, whom we Frenchmen served faithfully during their dominion over these regions, no longer govern France; peace to their memory, for in the darkest hours during the struggle of the American colonies for independence, they sent to General Washington troops and money with Lafayette, and a fleet of war ships under



CHIEF CONQUERING BEAR

who took part in the parade.

Rochambeau. This timely aid enabled the American colonies to secure their freedom from British rule; it deserves the eternal gratitude of the people of America.

France and America are perhaps the two greatest republics at the present time in the world. In some nations in Europe, emperors, kings and nobles are still paramount; at present there is in some quarters of Europe, an autocratic control; while in others, there is under monarchical control, a system of legislative government. In all America, the government, although crude to some extent in the South American states, is essentially republican. In North America, the United States, with a preponderating population, and prestige, is republican in government, whether in the township, county, state or nation. In Canada the people are practically free, so are the systems of governments; while submitting to the tutelage of England to a certain extent, the people enact their laws and determine their taxation. In all America the happiness of the individual is determined by his own conduct.

It is a wonderful change; the greatest of all transformations in political life is an established result. Divine Providence is manifest, for God still remains omnipotent.

But when I see this great assemblage, and when I hear your cheerful voice, Mr. Mayor, I sincerely believe that here especially, one may enjoy liberty in its highest and broadest form."

Following Cadillac, Monsieur de Margerie paid this tribute to Cadillac and the city he founded:

"It is," said the Chargé d' Affaires of France, accredited to the American Government, "a great honor to me as the representative of my country, to attend this celebration; and I am particularly pleased to find myself in the presence of the Chevalier Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac. I seem to be carried back to those old romantic times of two centuries ago. I see the banner of Louis XIV. studded with the fleur de lis, flying high above the government chateau. I hear the language of Fénelon, Racine, Molière, Bossuet, and the other writers of Christian France's golden age. Yes! in this commemoration, a great honor has been conferred upon France, and as the representative of the French Republic, I thank you for it."

After M. de Margerie's remarks, Mayor Maybury introduced Mr. William J. Dawson, who read a lengthy poem of a heroic tone in praise of Cadillac.

An attractive feature of the day's celebration was the illumination of the Campus Martius at night. Immense white columns placed at intervals about the public square, and bearing standards and festoons of myriad electric lights, made the scene one of dazzling beauty and a pleasant reminder of the Court of Honor at the World's Columbian Exposition.

SECOND DAY—THURSDAY, JULY 25, 1901.

At 10 a. m. there was given a boat ride on the U. S. revenue cutter Fessenden to Gov. Bliss and M. de Margerie, charge d'affaires of the French embassy at Washington and to a few other invited guests.



CHARLES M. ROUSSEAU (OFFICER D'ACADEMIE)

M. PIERRE DE MARGERIE
(FRENCH CHARGE D'AFFAIRES)

PIETRO CARDIELLO
(CONSULAR AGT. OF ITALY)

THEOPHILE FRANÇOIS (CONSUL OF BELGIUM)

The principal public feature of the day was the parade of the afternoon.

This was composed of the military, fraternal and labor organizations. In connection there were several score of floats representing in various unique ways the growth and present status of the industries of the city.

In the evening at the Russell House a reception was tendered the Chevalier Cadillac, Madam Cadillac and the other celebrities.

The dignitaries in line included the Chevalier and Madam Cadillac and other ladies; Mayor Maybury, M. de Margerie; Mayor Davis, of Windsor; Alfred Kleczkowski, Consul General for France at Montreal, and Consul Belanger of Detroit. Several hundred presentations took place.

Later in the evening a reception and banquet was tendered the invited guests, and the ladies and gentlemen participating in the commemorative ceremonies of the allegorical series.

This function was held in St. Joachim's hall. The Garde Cadillac escorted the Mayor and invited guests from the Russel House to the hall. A fine banquet had been prepared under the supervision of Louis E. Tossy, chairman. Seats were provided for 600 guests.

At 10 o'clock, when the guests had been seated, Mr. Tossy arose and announced its opening, naming Charles M. Rousseau as toast-master; and invited the Mayor to address the assemblage. In a felicitous speech Mayor Maybury opened the function.

The first toast, "France," was rapturously cheered, and the "Marseillaise" rendered by the band. In response to this toast, M. de Margerie, speaking in his own language, regretted the absence of the Marquis de Cambon, the Ambassador of the Republic of France to the United States. But he rejoiced that in his place, while attending the ceremonies in Detroit, he had enjoyed the pleasure of meeting so many of the sons and daughters of his own race, the glorious French people. In reviewing the grandeur of this race he said it was quite natural that their previous history had been so brilliant, because they always had God for their guide.

He spoke of the celebration in honor of Cadillac, and said it inspired his heart with a feeling of national pride.

"*Je suis fier,*" he continued, "*d'être Francais, quand je vois ce festin!*"

He then called for three cheers for France, which found a hearty response.

"I have received," M. de Margerie said, "a cablegram from the President of the French Republic, conferring upon Mayor Maybury the title of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor."

With this he turned to the surprised and gratified chief magistrate of Detroit, and fastened the red ribbon, so much prized by all Frenchmen, upon the lapel of His Honor's coat. It was gracefully done and evoked the hearty applause of all present. "*Vous êtes maintenant le premier maire du monde,*" shouted the enthusiastic assemblage.



O. G. HOWLAND, MAYOR OF TORONTO
E. G. SWIFT, MAYOR OF WALKERVILLE

E. GIRARDOT, MAYOR OF SANDWICH
JNO. DAVIS, MAYOR OF WINDSOR

M. de Margerie then announced that it gave him great pleasure to say that the President of France had appointed Joseph Belanger, Charles M. Rousseau and John B. Gravier, officers of the French Academy (which carries a decoration consisting of a purple ribbon to which a silver wreath is attached).

These decorations were attached to the lapels of the coats of those thus honored, in a graceful manner by the representative of the French Republic. The Mayor then retired.

The following is the official notification by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France to Mayor Maybury:

Paris, le 25 Juillet, 1901.

Monsieur—Il m'est bien agréable de vous faire connaitre que M. le Président de la République, voulant vous donner un témoignage particulier de sa haute bienveillance, vient, sur ma proposition de vous conférer de Chevalier de l'Ordre National de la Legion d'Honneur.

Je me félicite d'avoir été à même de faire valoir les titres que vous vous êtes acquis à cette marque de distinction, et je m'empresse de vous transmettre les insignes de l'Ordre.

J'aurais soin de vous faire parvenir ultérieurement votre diplôme.

Recevez Monsieur, les assurances de ma considération la plus distinguée.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangeres,
DELCASSE.

Monsieur William Cotter Maybury,
Maire de Detroit.

The official notification to Messrs. Joseph Belanger, John B. Gravier and Charles M. Rousseau, of which each received a copy, reads:

République Francaise,
Ministre de L'Instruction,
Publique et des Beaux-Arts.

Monsieur—Le ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts, vu l'article 32 du décret organique du 17 Mars, 1808; 1845, et 1 Novembre, 1846, vu les décrets des 9 Decembre, 1850, vu les ordonances royale de 14 Novembre, 1844, 9 Septembre, 7 Avril, et le 27 Decembre, 1866, 24 Decembre, 1885, et le 4, Aout, 1898.

ARRETE.

Monsieur Charles M. Rousseau à Detroit, (Etats-Unis), est nommé OFFICER D'ACADEMIE.

Pour Ampliation,
Le Chef du Cabinet,
P. NEVEUS.

Fait à Paris, 22 Juillet, 1901.

Le Minister de L'Instruction publique et et des Beaux-Arts,
GEORGES LEYGUES.

A. Monsieur Charles M. Rousseau,
Detroit, Michigan, Etats-Unis.

After the conferring of the cross of the Legion of Honor upon the Mayor, and of the decoration of the French academy upon Messrs. Belanger, Gravier and Rousseau, the latter spoke as follows in assuming the function of toastmaster of the evening:

RR. Pères, Mesdames et Messieurs:

Pour compléter la fête de la 200ieme anniversaire de la naissance de la ville de Detroit, nous sommes obligé de mettre en évidence la memoire de très haut et très illustre seigneur, Messire Antoine de La Mothe Cadillac, je voudrais avoid été le bon Père Recollet qui fut le compagnon, l'ami et le guide spirituel du hardi colonisateur.

J'aurais alors entendus les rêves de sa noble ambition, apprécié la loyauté de sa nature, admiré les conceptions de son



JOSEPH BELANGER
(FRENCH CONSUL DETROIT)
CHARLES GREBUS
(CONSUL FOR HONDURAS)

JOHN B. GRAVIER
(OFFICER D'ACADEMIE)
M. HIELMANN
(FRENCH VICE CONSUL CHICAGO)

génie, recueilli même ses sallies Gasconnées; de ces materiaux, il eut été facile de composer un éloge. Par malheur je suis arrivé 150 ans trop tard, et je ne saurais louer Cadillac que d'après son oeuvre. Mais son oeuvre c'est le Détroit; son oeuvre est un chef-d'oeuvre qui suffit pour donner à un homme la couronne d'immortalité.

Et quant je vis notre belle cité, ses larges avenues, ses résidences gracieuses, sa rivière aux flots étincelants, son île surtout, émerande splendide enchaînée dans une bague de fin cristal, je ne pus retenir un cri d'admiration enthousiaste prolongé, et je me sentis fier d'être Français, puisqu'un Français, notre Cadillac, avait, de son coup d'officier et d'explorateur, saisi les avantages militaires et commerciaux de cette position et en même temps, avec sa nature d'artiste, avait compris la beauté du site et les charmes qui aurait une ville assise en pareil lieu.

Vous messieurs les membres du comité, par reconnaissance pour Cadillac qui, vous à légué ce beau coin du monde, vous avez voulu que son nom fut donné à la fête civique du Detroit; que le drapeau de sa nation fut particulièrement honoré en cette circonstance, que sa langue fut parlé par des orateurs du jour; vous avez même voulu que cet orateur fut le Chargé d'Affaires, M. de Margerie le représentant de la France."

"Au nom des Français du Detroit," he exclaimed, "au nom des Français du Canada, et des Français de France, je vous remercie, messieurs, de ces aimables attentions, et comme une politesse en appelle une autre, tout en saluant avec émotion les couleurs de ma patrie arborées dans cette salle, déployées sur toutes ces poitrines je m'incline profondément devant votre étandard, le glorieux étandard de la France notre mère patrie absente."

On account of the early hour of 2 o'clock, M. de Margerie responded to President Rousseau's remarks, briefly.

The President then declared the function concluded.

THIRD DAY—FRIDAY, JULY 26, 1901.

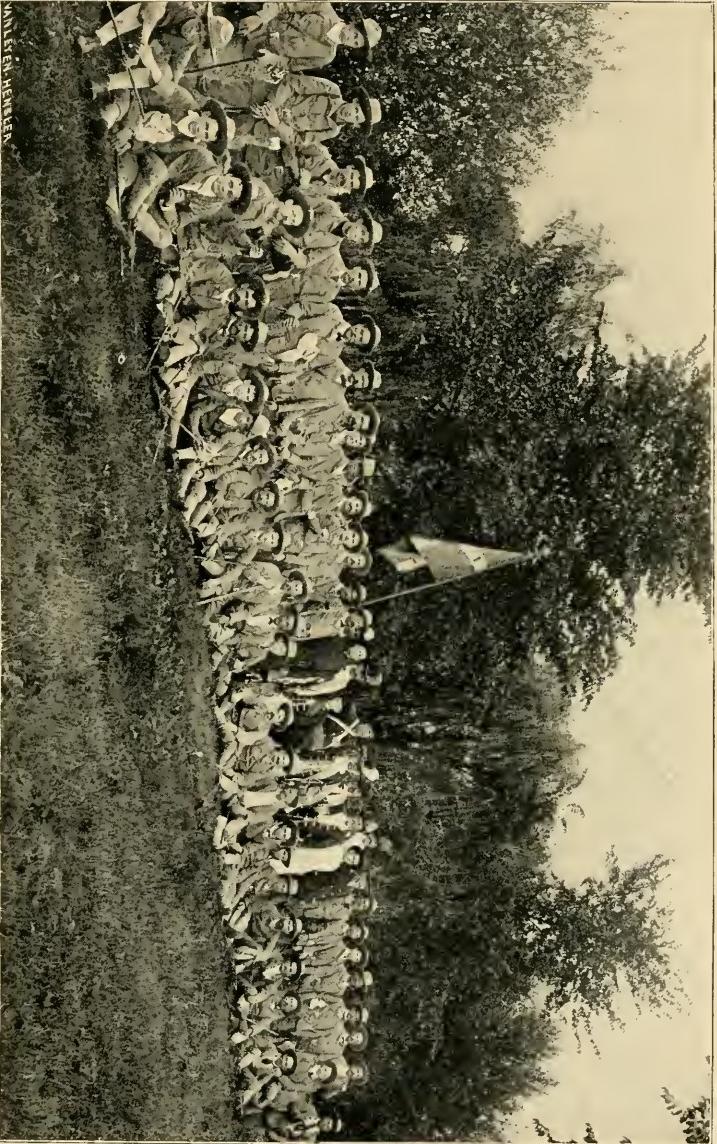
In the afternoon the Floral Parade arranged by the Women's Bi-Centennial Committee, proved amazingly attractive, its beauty and grace surpassing anything in the way of a street display ever before seen in Detroit.

A large number of tandems and automobiles were brought into use and all of them, with horses and harnesses as well, were artistically and extravagantly decorated with flowers of various hues and form. Tens of thousands of artificial flowers were used and the lady occupants of the carriages were themselves no mean part of a spectacle of grace and beauty. It is doubtful if even in California such a display was ever exceeded.

In the evening the allegorical representation of historic events connected with the life of the city was carried out with great success. It undoubtedly rivaled any display of the kind ever before witnessed in any American city. Twenty floats built on street car trucks, lighted by electricity, and moved over the car tracks in various parts of the city by electric force afforded a fitting illustration of the progress of events, and exhibited a contrast as between the possibilities existing when the city was founded, and the opportunities of to-day.

The floats were run 200 feet apart, the names of each being announced by brilliantly illuminated signs hung in front.

Some of the subjects represented differed from those originally contemplated, the correct list being as follows:



VAN LEEUWEN HENDERSON

"LES VOYAGEURS"—REPRESENTING CADILLAC'S COMPANY.

The first, sixth, eleventh and sixteenth floats were band floats of the most elaborate description.

Float No. 2 was particularly effective, representing the erection of a French cross on Belle Isle by a party of white explorers. The cross, seven feet in height and bearing the old French coat of arms, rises on an eminence at the rear. One of the group stands with bowed head in the rear at the head of a life-sized steed.

Float No. 3 showed Cadillac, accompanied by his son, obtaining permission from Louis XIV. to take possession of this country in the name of France. The throne was beautifully hung with tapestries.

In the next float Cadillac was shown landing on our shores. The prow of his boat rests in the sand, and an interpreter from his party is talking with two Indians on the shore.

"The Fur Traders" followed—as might be expected a party of Indians, who have just landed, are exchanging skins for trinkets and tobacco before a rude hut.

A band float came next, and following it a scene from Pontiac's Conspiracy. A party of Indians are holding a council of war around a camp fire in the center. Chief Pontiac is disclosing to his comrades his plan of attack. An Indian tepee looms up in the rear.

Float No. 8 showed the interior of a log cabin, wherein Maj. Gladwin is sitting at a table by a brilliantly lighted fireplace, his faithful dog at his side, while an Indian maid is revealing Pontiac's plan to capture all the forts between Detroit and Pittsburg.

In the next float Pontiac and his braves are before Maj. Gladwin at the entrance of old Fort Detroit. A chief is about to present a rattlesnake's skin. History tells us that he was about to sign to his comrades to rush in and capture the fort, but Gladwin had learned of his plans, and gave a signal to his men within, who, though few in numbers, created such a clatter with their rifles that the Indians were frightened away.

Float No. 10 showed eight children dancing around a Maypole in front of the governor's log house in the city's early days. The governor and his wife are enjoying the merriment from the porch.

The twelfth float illustrated the battle of Bloody Run. On one side of a little foot bridge, spanning the historic creek, a group of soldiers are defending themselves against a band of Indians hidden among the rocks on the other side.

The thirteenth float showed the taking possession of Detroit by the Americans in 1796. The old fort, with its projecting cannon, is seen at one end, while in the center is the color staff, with an American officer near by holding the lowered Union Jack, and another engaged in hoisting the Stars and Stripes.

None of the floats were more beautiful and effective in appearance than the fourteenth, which illustrated the great fire of 1805. At one end, in the midst of a halo of electric lights, appeared the seal of the city, seven feet in diameter. The remainder of the float shows the city in flames, with the Indian dwarf, which legend says appeared at this disaster for the last time, brandishing a



CHIEF MARSHAL AND HIS AIDES

MANLEYEN-HONSTEIN

burning brand in the center. Greek fire rendered the whole scene realistic.

The fifteenth float showed Lewis Cass in 1812, then a subordinate officer under Hull, breaking his sword on a rock just outside the stockade to avoid the necessity of surrendering it.

Beautiful band floats came next.

Commodore Perry and Governor Shelby were the subjects of the next float. The governor, on horseback, is seen at the brink of the river, greeting the victorious commodore, who is represented as standing at the prow of one of his little gunboats.

The eighteenth float was symbolical of the three nations, whose flags have successively floated over the city. At the front stands France, with her fleur-de-lis banner; in the center, Brittania, with the flag of England; and in the rear, Columbia, waving Old Glory.

The nineteenth float represented Neptune, ruler of the seas, driving his prancing water horses at the front of the float, while in the center, under full sail, appears the Griffin, the first ship to navigate this portion of the great lakes, and behind it the first steamer, the Walk-in-the Water.

As an appropriate ending to this magnificent parade the last float represented a beautiful triumphal arch, illustrative of the industrial progress of the city. Statues representing Detroit, Art, Science, and Commerce were seen at one end, and one of Industry at the other. Beneath the arch the city was pictured with a suspension bridge, spanning the river, the harbor full of vessels.

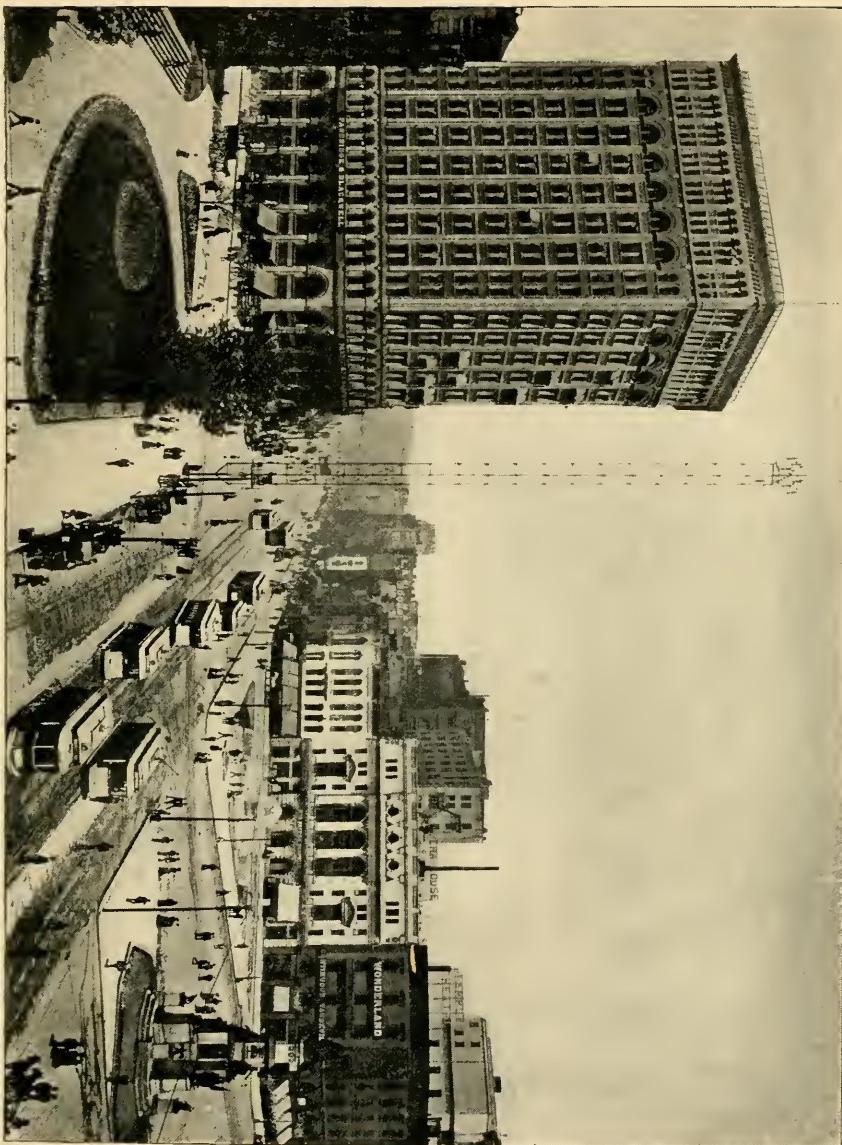
THE FRENCH ELEMENT IN THE CELEBRATION.

Probably no other city of equal extent in the United States can claim such a distinct element in its indigenous population as can Detroit in that portion usually designated as the Franco-American race; the greater number of whom are lineal descendants of the followers of Cadillac, and of those settlers who came from Canada subsequently to the chevalier's decade, during the French regime.

This element has been recruited during modern times by men of business capacity and mechanical genius from the Province of Quebec; and by a less intelligent contingent of hardy-laboring men from the littorals of the St. Lawrence.

A peculiarity of the descendants of the original pioneers is the number of families residing on territory originally acquired by their ancestors, by grants from Cadillac direct, or from the Governor-General of New France.

The enormous increase in value of such estates has made certain of these families wealthy. The names of many of them have been made familiar by the names given to the streets and avenues opened through their



THE CAMPUS MARTIUS 1901.

domains. Aware of these existing conditions, Mayor Maybury paid a poetic tribute to this particular race, by assigning seventy-seven of their constituents to places on the respective committees designed to carry out the memorial ceremonies.

He also suggested the organization of La Garde Cadillac, to represent the fifty soldiers in the retinue of the founder; and a company of the same number, typical of the fifty artisans and farmers who came with him. These were uniformed in costumes corresponding with those worn by the original retinue.

The principal roles in the allegorical ceremonies were assigned, appropriately, to gentlemen and ladies of the French race, who acted their parts in a becoming and dignified manner. This particular feature in the ceremonies was a decided success; while it excited much admiration on the part of those who understood and appreciated its signification.

The Mayor appointed the following gentlemen to direct the work of the Franco-Americans in the ceremonies: Charles M. Rousseau, President; John B. Gravier, Vice-President; Adolph N. Marion, Recording Secretary; A. J. Guimond, Corresponding Secretary.

This Committee wisely selected for the allegorical roles:

Cadillac—Dr. Daniel La Ferté.

Chirurgien—Alexander Chapoton, Jr.

De Tonty—Désiré B. Willemin.

Dugué—André P. Ducq.

Chacornacle—Philip J. Beaubien.

Father De L'Halle, Recollet—Alfred J. Guimond.

Father Vaillant, Jesuit—Francois Beauvais.

Cadillac Fils—Antoine Bedard.

Another important feature in the allegorical ceremonies was the organization of La Garde Cadillac.

The formation into a company of fifty, representing the artisans and proposed settlers, which was in the retinue of Cadillac, was due to the efforts of Charles Sanscrainte and Samuel Rioux.

PERSONNEL DE LA GARDE CADILLAC

H. F. Eberts, Capitaine

J. A. Bedard, Lieutenant

G. Grimaldi, Sous-Lieutenant

SERGEANTS

Beaupre, L. N., Ier.

Faille, Geo. A., 2me.

Renaud, Thomas, 3me.

Bezaau, Remi, 4me.

Chartier, Ed., 5me.

CAPORAUX

Beauvais, Medard, Ier.

Grimaldi, Jos., 2me.

Cloutier, Ulric, 3me.

Kiekens, A., 4me.

Marcel Trombley, Porte Drapeau

SOLDATS

Antaya, Joseph

Devry, Honore

Malo, Joseph

Aubry, Joseph

Dubo, Arthur

Menard, Achille

Baribeau, L.

Desrochers, Joseph

Marion, Chas. A.

Bidigare, Joseph

Gagnier, David

Nadeau, Pierre

Baudin, Achille

Gladue, Paul

Nadeau, Ed.

Boutin, Rudolph

Hammond, Louis

Poupard, Alex.

Belleamie, Henri

Jarret, Francois

Peters, J. B.

Cloutier, Joseph

Janis, Denis

Robert, Wm. H.

Cloutier, Stanislas

Jolicoeur, Joseph

Rivest, James

Chevrette, Ed.

Jolicoeur, Thomas

Renaud, Eugene

Cecil, George

Ladouceur, Ed.

Rousseau, A. C.

Cecil, Michel

Lemerise, F.

Sarrazin, Joseph

Carrier, Alex.

Letourneau, Pierre

Truchon, Daniel

DeGuise, Joseph

Livernois, Daniel

DesHayes, Odillon

Martel, Henri

CADILLAC AND HIS COURT

PÈRE, VAILLANT—FRANÇOIS BEAUVASIS

CAPT. TONY—D. B. WILLEMIN

DR. JEAN CHAPOTON—ALEXANDER CHAPOTON, JR.

LIEUTENANT DUCRE—ANDRÉ P. DUCRE

CHEVALIER CADILLAC—DR. DANIEL LAFERTE

CADILLAC FILS—ANTONIO BEDARD

LIEUTENANT CHACORNACLE—PHILIPPE J. BEAUBIEN



PERSONNEL DES ARTISANS ET FERMIERS

Antaya, Charles	Fancher, Joseph	Ouellette, Alex.
Blouin, F. X.	Fancher, Frank	Peltier, Pierre
Beauvais, Francois	Gilbert, Louis	Peters, Samuel
Beaulieu, J. B.	Gagnon, Honore	Peters, David
Bedard, Henri	Lachance, F. X.	Picard, J. B.
Bezeau, Wm.	Lafferty, Ed.	Provost, Celestin
Boucher, Arthur	Leblanc, Geo.	Pepin, Napoleon
Couture, Alex.	Lepage, Octave	Paradis, L. J.
Cloutier, W.	LeBoeuf, Geo.	Rousseau, Paul
Cloutier, Emile	LaFerte, Alfred	Rousseau, A. C.
Cloutier, Omer	Leparriere, Louis	Rousseau, A. J.
Chartier, Joseph	Mathieu, J.	Rousseau, Charles
Carboneau, Henri	Martin, Frank	Rousseau, F. X.
DesHayes, Louis	Monfils, Amedee	Roberge, Regis
Dupart, S.	Norton, Edward	Troie, Achille

COMMITTEE ON COSTUMES.

D. Beaudry Peter J. Martelli Joseph Belanger
Andre Ducq Aloysius C. Rousseau

COMMITTEE ON BATEAUX.

**John B. Peters Desire B. Willemin Marcel Trombley
Joseph DeGuise Samuel Rioux Ernest N. Rousseau**

COMMITTEE ON EXERCISES.

Col. Charles Dupont Francis Beauvais Emil Connault
Samuel Reaume Capt. H. F. Eberts Gregoire Grimaldi

Captain of the Soldiers—H. F. Eberts Second Lieutenant—Gregoire Grimaldi

First Lieutenant—Joseph A. Bedard Standard Bearer—Marcel Trombley

Commander of the Flotilla—Capt. Samuel Rioux

Chief of the Voyageurs—Capt. Charles F. Sanscrainte

First Canoe containing Chevalier de la Mothe Cadillac with his escort, in charge of Commander Samuel Rioux

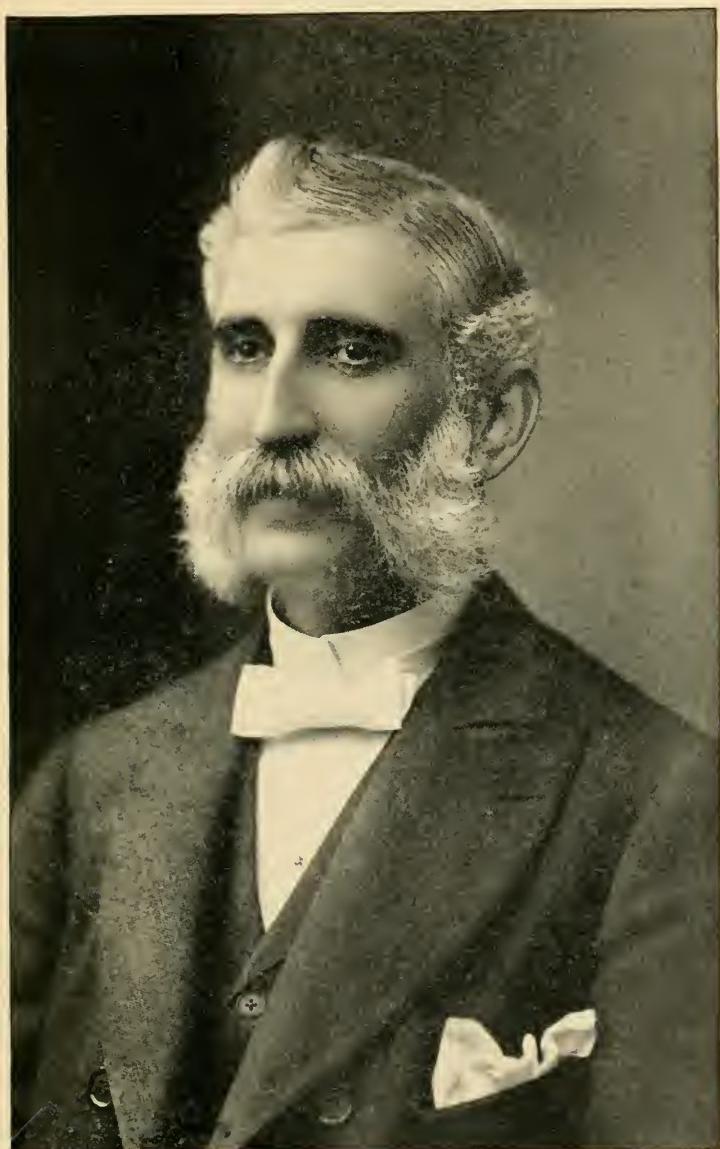
Fifteen Bateaux containing the fifty Soldiers and the fifty Artisans
and Farmers

"The two hundredth anniversary of the founding of our beautiful city," writes Charles M. Rousseau, President of the General French Committee, by an honored son of France was certainly well and enthusiastically celebrated by all citizens, but with greater interest by those of the French race, who still feel a national pride and a filial regard for "la Belle France."

History relating to the founder and to the French colony was carefully studied by the French Americans, as I may be permitted to call them, who had become interested in the success of the commemoration of this national event in the history of French America during the reign of Louis XIV.

After the general outline of the three days' ceremonies had been decided upon, in which so prominent a part was to be the French feature, as it was designated, a meeting was called and held in the Mayor's office of Franco-Americans for general consultation. Those present were inspired by the determination of the Mayor to make the Bi-centennial a success in all its distinctive features. The Mayor promised the hearty co-operation of himself, as well as of the Executive Committee.

Notices were published in the press of a general meeting of the Franco-American citizens, to take action in the premises. Invitations were sent by mail to the clergy of the French churches to attend this meeting; and also to influence their parishioners in the same direction. This meeting was held on the evening of June 11, in the hall of the Society of St. Jean Baptiste.



DANIEL LAFERTÉ, M. D.

Chevalier Cadillac.

The attendance was large; six priests were present; the French and Belgian consuls also. The Mayor was there and presided. He opened the proceedings with a felicitous and encouraging address, which was followed by short speeches from the clergy present and by the consuls named, and the meeting proceeded to materialize the work by electing officers to have general charge of the Franco-American share in the celebration.

The following were chosen:

President—Charles M. Rousseau.

Vice-President—John B. Gravier.

Secretary—Adolph N. Marion.

The President was authorized to appoint four special committees, consisting of five members each, to have direction of the four divisional features of the French program and to select the representatives of the respective dignitaries taking part in the ceremonies of the landing of Cadillac and his formal assumption of the right of domain in the name of Louis XIV.

For this particular duty, Louis E. Tossy, Edward Lafferty, Paul J. Rousseau, Philip J. Beaubien and Joseph A. Bedard were named as this committee.

To provide the canoes for the ceremony, and to have them arranged for the allegorical ceremonies in which the founder and his staff, fifty soldiers and fifty artisans, farmers and settlers were to take part, was a duty of importance which was placed in charge of John B. Peters, Ernest N. Rousseau, Joseph De Guise, Desire B. Willemin, Samuel Rioux and Marcel Trombley. As all the dramatic personae were to be costumed, stage effect

being essential, this feature was placed in charge of D. Beaudry, A. Ducq, P. J. Martelli, A. C. Rousseau and Joseph Belanger.

The drilling and marching instruction was assigned to Col. C. Dupont, Capt. F. M. Eberts, F. Beauvais, S. Reaume and Emil Connault. Much assiduous work was accomplished by the members named of the respective committees, which was apparent in the public demonstration.

In the meantime the Executive Committee had allotted the French Committee \$1,500 for general expenses; with the promise of more if needed.

The littorals of the strait from Lake St. Clair to the head waters of Lake Erie were searched for craft suitable; when these were found, their prows had to be decked over with galvanized iron, conformable with the ancient custom. The result was the most picturesque, and at the same time historically accurate, flotillas that ever appeared in the waters of this vicinity.

The Garde Cadillac organized by Captain Eberts was uniformed and drilled to perfection. The company of artisans and settlers costumed in keeping, was judiciously maneuvered by Captain Sanscrainte; while it is an agreeable duty to accord the gentlemen who so admirably filled the more distinguished roles the highest appreciation for their successful work.

In the month of June, just prior to the commemorative celebration of the Bi-Centenary of Detroit, the Marquis de Cambon, the Ambassador of France, who was returning to Washington from Chicago, by way of the



CAPT. H. F. EBERTS

2ND LIEUT. GREGOIRE GRIMALDI

1ST LIEUT. J. A. BEDARD

ANTONIO BEDARD

lakes, stopped over one day at Detroit, to confer with the French Consul, Hon. Joseph Belanger, in regard to the official recognition which the Republic of France should accord to the City of Detroit, and the part her representatives should take in the Bi-Centenary commemoration of the founding of the French colony of Detroit by the Chevalier Cadillac.

It was arranged at this conference, that the Ambassador of France to the American Republic, who was at the time on his way to Paris, would direct the Chargé d' Affaires at Washington, to represent the Republic in his behalf at the Bi-Centenary ceremonies at Detroit, and that the Consul Generals at Montreal and at Chicago, together with the Consul at Detroit, would represent the commercial and social interests of the French Republic at the approaching ceremonies. This combination of diplomatic and commercial representation, was, in the opinion of the Marquis de Cambon, the most honorable tribute that his nation could offer to the City of Detroit.

There were then present during the three days on the part of the Republic of France :

Pierre de Margerie, Chargé d' Affaires of the embassy of France at Washington.

M. Kleczkowski, Consul General at Montreal.

The Consul General at Chicago.

The Consul at Detroit, Hon. Joseph Belanger.

ST. ANNE'S CHURCH CELEBRATION.

Coincidental with the civic celebration of the Bi-Centenary of the founding of Detroit by Cadillac, was the religious commemoration of the Bi-Centenary of the founding of the first church of Ste. Anne at Detroit, July 26, 1701, when the Holy sacrifice was first offered on these shores in the primitive chapel built of logs and dedicated on her festival day to the mother of the Blessed Virgin, by the chaplain of the expedition, the Recollet Monk, Father Constantin De l'Halle, assisted by the ci-devant Jesuit missionary to the Mohawks, Father Francois Vaillant de Gueslis.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Foley, determined that the civil celebration should be accompanied by a religious celebration, to which should be gathered the representatives of the historic Sees from which we derived our Catholicity, and of those other Sees which owed their beginning to the fruitage of the seeds that were planted at Detroit. The religious celebration was to be held in the church of Ste. Anne, one of the finest and most spacious of the churches of the city; it is the sixth in its line of succession, three of its predecessors having been destroyed by fire during the intervening centuries.

The highest religious authority in the country, the delegate of Pope Leo XIII., His Eminence Cardinal Mar-



ALFRED KLECZKOWSKI

Consul-Général de France dans la Puissance du Canada.

tinelli, lent his presence to the occasion. The representatives of the Pontiff in the Dominion of Canada, from which Catholicity came to these shores in the days of Louis Quatorze, the learned Archbishop Diomede Falconio of Larissa, were also present. The historic Sees of Quebec and Montreal from whose seats the earliest missionaries set out to the then unknown regions of the west, was represented by the Most Reverend Archbishop Canon Paul Bruchesi, of Montreal.

The American prelates present, were the venerable otogenarian Archbishop, William Henry Elder, of Cincinnati; Archbishops Ireland, of St. Paul, and Katzer, of Milwaukee; Bishops Foley, of Detroit; Eis, of Marquette; Richter, of Grand Rapids; Spalding, of Peoria; Cotter, of Winona; O'Gorman, of South Dakota; McGolric, of Duluth; Conaty, president of the Catholic University of Washington, and Gabriels, of Ogdensburg.

There were also present Very Reverend and Reverend representatives of the churches of the city and of the interior cities.

The invited guests present were: Governor Aaron T. Bliss; Hon. William C. Maybury, Mayor of Detroit, accompanied by the members of the Bi-Centenary Executive Committee; M. P. de Margerie, Chargé d' Affaires of the Republic of France at Washington; Hon. Alfred Kleeckzkowski, French Consul General at Montreal; the French Consul General at Chicago; and the Hon. Joseph Belanger, French Consul at Detroit.

The religious ceremonies were opened under direction of Rev. Father Grand, the Venerable Pastor of Ste.

Anne's, with a grand procession. First came the cross bearer, leading the acolytes, and followed by the clergy, then the Bishops and Archbishops, the Apostolic delegates to the Dominion of Canada, and finally Cardinal Martinelli, proceeding up the main aisle of the sanctuary, where the dignitaries, prelates and clergy were assigned their respective places. Seldom, if ever, had such an august assemblage of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Catholic church in North America been in attendance at Detroit.

Never before had a religious ceremony in this city been honored by two Papal delegates from Rome.

But the occasion, in the opinion of Bishop Foley, was so remarkable as to deserve the highest commemoration; for no one church or parochial organization in the United States at the present time, can claim a continuous unbroken existence of two hundred years, as can the church of Ste. Anne of Detroit; authenticated as it is by her remarkable parochial register, dating back to the first entry in the handwriting of Father De l'Halle in 1704, and the continuous entries during two centuries, attested by the officiating pastor, or visiting prelate, with their signatures, now on file in the archives of the present church.

It was wisely arranged by Bishop Foley, that the celebrant of the Holy Sacrifice at this historical commemoration of the first religious ceremony at Detroit, when a Recollet Monk from Quebec, on the festival of the patroness saint of Canada, dedicated a chapel in her honor, two hundred years ago, should be Archbishop



MONSIEUR MARTINELLI
DELEGATE APOSTOLIQUE

REV. GABRIEL RICHARD
WILLIAM HENRY ELDER, D. D.
ARCHBISHOP OF CINCINNATI

MONSIEUR FALCONIE
ARCHBISHOP OF LARIA

PAUL BRUCHESSI, D. D.
ARCHBISHOP OF MONTREAL.

Falconio, delegate of the Church of Rome to the Dominion of Canada.

It was also appropriate on the part of Bishop Foley, to designate the distinguished Archbishop of Montreal, to preach the memorial sermon.

What a prolific theme, what a historic ensemble, was there to inspire this successor of the saintly Montmorency de Laval, founder of the hierarchy of Canada, in such a discourse!

At the conclusion of the Gospel of the day, the Archbishop of Montreal, Mgr. Bruchesi, proceeded from the sacristy to the pulpit and pronounced the allocution of the occasion. Mgr. Bruchesi's sermon was delivered in French and was attentively listened to by an immense congregation. The following is a translation of his sermon:

Memor fui dierum antiquorum. I have remembered the olden days.—Ps. 142:5.

Your Excellency, My Lords, and Brethren:

A sacred canticle rather than an address, methinks, would better harmonize with the solemn circumstances of this day's assembly. How, indeed, can mere words express the feelings of jubilation and profound gratitude which thrill your magnificent city? Your city did I say? It is not Detroit alone that assumes a festive appearance, equally so is it the entire State of Michigan. The whole Republic of old France, and the Universal Church from all sides swell a vibrating chorus that awakens an echo in the very heavens above us. We can feel that it is a work of God as well as of men of God that is here recalled and

acclaimed. Two centuries, in their passage, only touched to strengthen and improve it.

I heard the deep-voiced cannons announcing the commencement of your civic festivities; I beheld thousands of Star-Spangled Banners fluttering from the windows, and amongst them I saw the standard of another age, that lily flag, the same white banner that first floated over the waters of our own St. Lawrence; I gazed upon an entire population throbbing with enthusiasm as they welcomed to their shore men who came to remind them of their founders and pioneers; behold now in this place, resplendent in their brilliant uniforms the representatives of France; prelates, priests, secular and regular, citizens of all classes, all assembled with one grand thought around the sacred altars, and all intoning that soul-inspiring Chant: "We remember the days of old."

It is not Detroit in all her present splendor that you celebrate; it is not those superb structures, nor those elegant boulevards, nor those incomparable streets that you have invited us here to admire. No, not them! Higher up the slope of time do you ascend, back to those earlier days, so full of poetry, so filled with faith; the names that quiver upon every lip are those of Cadillac, of De l'Halle, of Vaillant, of those poor frieze-clad missionaries, of Père Richard; it is the hazardous pathway traced by your fathers through the "primeval forest" that you contemplate, it is the tiny wooden chapel that their hands erected that your imagination rebuilds, it is their intrepid courage and heroic virtues that you recall, in a word, it is around the cradle of your civilization and your



RT. REV. JOHN S. FOLEY

RT. REV. JOHN L. SPAULDING

MOST REV. JOHN IRELAND

RT. REV. THOS. S. O. GORMAN

faith that your hearts have met and that they throb in unison.

All honor to the people whose hearts are not forgetful! Citizens of Detroit, of such are you. Let us, then join hands, for we Canadians, descendants like you of France, find our supreme happiness in the conservation of the olden faith, our coat-of-arms proclaims it since thereon we have written the motto "I remember."

What a great lesson you have just taught the entire world! To do honor to the memory of your city's founders, you have sought to restore them again, in a way, to earth, by reproducing, amidst the enthusiastic plaudits of the entire population, the deeds that they performed on the memorable 24th of July, 1701, on the banks of your beautiful river. It was grand, my brethren, it was beautiful; gratitude could imagine nothing more touching, and as for myself, it will constitute a souvenir that will outlast all others that these days of national rejoicing must create.

Cadillac is, then, again in our midst, with the missionaries—a Recollect and a Jesuit—those ubiquitous and faithful servants of God and of France. In the name of Louis XIV. he took possession of these lands by planting thereon the lily standard, but that flag called for the divine Laborum to which perpetual victory has been promised, and the priest in his turn, set up the banner of the cross, and in presence of that cross all heads were uncovered, and Cadillac, with his companions knelt in prayer. That is the spectacle beheld in Detroit, in this twentieth century, despite the conflicting creeds that un-

fortunately divide the minds of men. Detroit has shown itself proud of its Christian and French origin, and loudly proclaimed the same in thus recalling to mind the glorious events that marked its baptismal day.

Are foundations laid in a like manner to-day? Is it thus, animated with the same patriotism and the same supernatural spirit, that the explorers of the present time would take possession of the regions that they might discover? The thirst for gold can certainly make men undertake long and painful journeys and undergo immense sacrifices, but in extending the limits of an empire, would there be a thought given to the cross that has saved the world—that is to say, to the Redeemer, to God, to the soul, or to eternity? But our forefathers were men of faith, they had faith in the genius of man, and still greater faith in the protection of Heaven; that their discoveries redounded to their country's glory was a source of great joy for them, but, before and above all they recognized that those discoveries tended to the greater glory of the Eternal One. And well did they know, that whatsoever men attempted to construct, when relying solely upon their own strength, eventually turned to Babel towers that the hand of time soon levelled with the dust. They knew that no work can be immortal that rests only on mortal strength, and when they undertook the building of cities, they did so while murmuring in their hearts those sacred words, which the experience of the ages has ratified: “*Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum, in vanum laboraverunt qui aedificant eam.*” If the Lord Himself does not build the house, it is in vain to labor at its erection.



REV. ERNEST VAN DYKE

REV. FRANCIS A. MUELLER

Moreover, the gospel is here, upon which we must reckon, and while practicing the lessons it teaches, remember its warnings. The world, for over nineteen hundred years has been Christian, a fact that cannot be forgotten or ignored, without a misconception of our origin and destiny. What then does the gospel teach us? That Christ is Sovereign of the universe, that all creatures must adore Him, and that His reign must last unto the end of time. All men who seek to accomplish aught that is great here below, must do so for the glory of Christ and the triumph of His gospel. Wherefore is it, that, unless all sane philosophy be denied and the pages of history destroyed, there is no true civilization other than that which is Christian, and no real colonization other than that which is inspired by Christianity. All others are for this world, that alone tends towards eternity. And after all, for nations as for individuals, it is eternity that is paramount. We were not created for the tomb, nor is the coffin the last of our existence.

Do you wish that I should name the first and most perfect civilizers of the world? They were the Apostles, who without arms, or money, or human protection of any kind, came amongst the peoples preaching the truths and inculcating the virtues which their Master had sent them to proclaim. To their lot fell neither rewards, nor honors, nor enjoyments, but rather poverty, suffering and finally the death of martyrdom. But, at the same time, men were baptized, the mystery of the Cross was accepted and adored, while from their time dates the indisputable transformation of the universe.

Well then, what the first disciples of Christ had done, France—one of their most glorious conquests—did through all time. Her discoveries always bore the seal of Christianity, down the centuries we behold her advancing, over seas and along shores wherever the will of Providence guided, bearing aloft in one hand the nation's flag and in the other the cross of Christ. She wished as the eldest daughter of the Church, and as a Christian mother, to carry to the baptismal font herself, all the people that sprang from her bosom, and I do not hesitate to here declare that in the long course of Christianity's history she has been the most apostolic nation on earth. At this hour—an hour of gloom—it is well that we should recall these things. The past is a guarantee of the future. Dark clouds may at times obscure the sun, but the orb loses none of its brilliancy, wait a little moment only, the cloud passes away and the sun continues to bathe the world in rays of light and beams of heat.

I am not, however, straying from my subject. It is still the 24th of July, 1701. The standard of the cross and the standard of France have been planted upon this spot of earth which is destined to become the important city of Detroit. To your work then, Cadillac, to your work now, ye pious missionaries and hardy colonists! Their first care is to erect a chapel to Almighty God. The forest trees are felled. Leader, priests, gentlemen, all become workmen, and, in raising that rough framework they exhibit the same faith and the same devotion, that characterized their ancestors, in France, as they

placed stone upon stone of their vast Cathedrals. Any-way, is it not the house of the Lord that they built? Will it not equally contain His altar and His tabernacle? Day and night the work goes ahead, and in forty-eight hours the chapel is constructed. It is the feast of Ste. Anne, of the good Ste. Anne, that Ste. Anne so dear to the Breton heart, that Ste. Anne so fervently invoked to-day in the olden church d'Auray. To her is the little chapel dedicated, she, therefore, becomes the patroness and protectress of this new region. The Holy sacrifice of the Mass is celebrated for a first time; the entire colony is in attendance, the hymns of the motherland are intoned, the priest says to them "the Lord be with you," the blessings of heaven come down upon the humble faithful and upon the work they have commenced.

As I recall that scene, so magnificent in its very simplicity, I naturally dream of the early days of Canada. I behold Jacques Cartier, also taking possession of the immense country that he had just discovered by planting thereon the banner of his king side by side with the Cross of his Redeemer; I can see him reading the Gospel of St. John in presence of the poor Indians, as if to make them hear the voice of heaven; I catch a glimpse, at Montreal, of Père Vernint, celebrating the first Mass under the blue vault of the sky, and upon a little altar which the hands of Mademoiselle Mance had decorated with early flowers of the spring time.

I can see De Marsonmenu, as he went with his companions to the mountain to carry back the first wood to be used in the foundation of the chapel about to be

erected in honor of Our Lady of Good Help. "Memor fui dierum antiquorum." Yes, I remember, I recall, I understand how it is that everywhere France followed the promptings of the same inspiration; in the hearts of her children two passions pulsate; they wish to behold their country great and glorious, and they wish, in their love for God, to serve His cause in procuring souls for Him.

My brethren, the history of Detroit is familiar to you. I need not here repeat any of it. As I have stated, it is the birth of your city that is celebrated to-day; with that event alone did I wish to deal.

Yesterday I held in my hands, and with deep emotion, the old registers that have been religiously conserved by the venerable priests, who succeeded to Fathers De l'Halle, De la Marche, Leonard, Richard, and many others, in the direction of this Church—the mother church of all others in the Western States. On these sear and yellow leaves do we read true titles to the nobility of your ancestors. Should it not be styled the "Golden Book of Detroit"? No where else will be found any more precious.

Cadillac has disappeared, De l'Halle has fallen by the murderous ball of an Indian, Père Richard died a victim of his zeal in caring for the plague stricken. The other missionaries have died in the perpetuation of the devotedness of their brothers, the early apostles; the little chapel, burned down several times, has arisen from its ashes, each time more beautiful and richer than ever, until it became the splendid temple that shelters us to-day. France lost her colony; England, that had acquired

it, lost it in turn; the American Union added it to her wealth of territory, yet the work of God went ever on. Flag succeeded flag, but the Cross ever retained its place of honor. Europe, America, all countries, and they of all creeds, solemnly recognized its beneficent influence and accorded it, in the heart of your city, the most splendid of victories: "Stat Crux dum volvitur orbis."

Three dioceses divide the State of Michigan and number to-day three hundred and seventy priests with nearly four hundred thousand Catholics.

My brethren, this sacred work is not yet completed. To you falls the duty of continuing and of crowning it. There is still labor to be done and triumphs to be gained. Remember the olden times; imitate the courage and emulate the zeal of your forefathers. Remember to return thanks, but, at the same time, to here renew the holy alliance, that two hundred years ago to-day was entered into between God and His people. Be ye also apostles. For you, children of the Church, this apostolate becomes a sacred duty in private as in public life, in society, as well as in the sanctuary. God, your Benefactor and celestial Father speaks unto you; hearken to His voice. He, it is that, with an entire truth and in perfect justice, has the right to address you in the language once spoken by an earthly king to the children of Isarel: "I conjure you, remembering the graces you have received from me, to preserve the fidelity that you owe to Me and to My Son." That Son, my dear brethren, is Our Lord Jesus Christ. With His name will I close this address; to Him be all honor and all glory forever and ever. Amen.

On the second day of the religious celebration of the bi-centenary the church of Ste. Anne had put off its gorgeous garb of jubilation and taken on the more somber one of recollection of the dead. The altars were draped in funeral black and from among the folds of crêpe the lights flickered and sparkled like silver stars. On this day there was a Solemn Pontifical Mass of Requiem for the dead of two hundred years. For all those who had come with Cadillac and gone to their reward; for all those whose names are attached to the farms into which what is now Detroit was originally divided; for all those who had helped build Ste. Anne's in its new spot on Ste. Anne's street where Ives' building now stands; for all those who had built up old Ste. Anne's in its still newer location on Larned street, by the banks of the Savoyard; for all the dead that were laid away in its churchyard, and afterwards removed to the new graveyard on the Beaubien farm, and later still to Mt. Elliott; for all the dead of all the years since the eighteenth century began, those who, when quick with life, were the workers that established our parishes and built our churches. It was a magnificent thought to remember this grand army of the departed and right solemnly was their remembrance conducted. The church was suitably decorated for the occasion. A male chorus took the place of the immense choir of the previous day. The ecclesiastics present included the officers of the Mass and the Celebrant, the Most Rev. William Henry Elder, D. D., Archbishop of Cincinnati.

Among the ecclesiastics in the sanctuary were the Bishop of Detroit, Bishops McGoldrick, Cotter and Scan nell, and Archbishop Katzer. At the conclusion of the Mass the Right Reverend Henry S. Gabriels, of Ogdensburgh, N. Y., ascended the pulpit and delivered the memorial sermon in French.

A cable from Rome was received as follows: "The Most Holy Father wishing you all joy with special affection, imparts the Most Holy blessing for which you ask."—Leo.

The third and last day of the religious celebration of the Bi-Centenary was given over to a grand Mass of Thanksgiving at the old Cathedral, now the Jesuit Church of SS. Peter and Paul. It was among the most magnificent ceremonies that have ever occurred in the Catholic Churches of Michigan. Never before had there been so distinguished a gathering of clergy within the limits of the State. What a contrast there was between it and the simple blessing of the first log church of Ste. Anne! Père De l'Halle and Père Valliant were all that were then here. On this day there was the personal representative of the Pope, Cardinal Martinelli. There was his representative in Canada, Archbishop Falconio. There were the representatives of the Orders to which De l'Halle and Vaillant belonged.

The spectacle in the church was magnificent. The flags of France and America hung from the choir loft. The papal colors were looped from the dome to the sanctuary. The striking sunflowers of the sanctuary decorations were toned with roses and carnations.

Smilax and asters contributed to the floral effect, while among them the lines of electric fire made a glowing spectacle of the altar.

The clergy had assembled for robing in the spacious halls of Detroit College. At half-past ten the procession emerged from the college doors.

First came the masters of ceremonies, Fathers Dempsey and Kessler. Following them was Father Gruenenwald, of St. Mary's, carrying the processional cross. Then came the acolytes with their swinging censers, the bearers of the robes of the officiants and the priests who were in attendance. Next came the bishops and the archbishops. As they entered the church the orchestra broke out into Weber's overture. The Cardinal celebrant was the last of the imposing line which entered the church. He wore a black cape, indicative of his membership in the Augustinian Order.

The archbishops took their places at thrones on the right of the main altar, opposite that of the Cardinal celebrant. Archbishop Falconio, Apostolic Delegate to the Dominion of Canada, was attended by his secretary, Very Rev. Father Solanus, O. F. M., and Very Rev. Father Grimmelmsman, S. J., provincial of the Jesuits of the Missouri province, who came on from St. Louis to attend the services. Archbishop Bruchesi, of Montreal, was attended by Rev. James D. Foley, S. J., rector of Detroit College; Archbishop Elder by Rev. M. Corbett, S. J., and Archbishop Katzer, of Milwaukee, by Monsignor Rooker, secretary of the papal legation at Washington.

The bishops occupied prie-dieux to the left of the Cardinal's throne. They were Bishop O'Gorman, of Sioux Falls, S. D.; Bishop-elect Conaty, Rector of the Catholic University at Washington; Bishop McQuaid, of Rochester; Bishop Spalding, of Peoria; Bishop Scan nell, of Omaha; Bishop Richter, of Grand Rapids; Bishop Eis, of Marquette; Bishop Cotter, of Winona; Bishop Gabriels, of Ogdensburg; Bishop McGoldrick, of Duluth; Bishop Messmer, of Green Bay, and Bishop Foley.

The priests sat in rows along the chancel rail.

The choir and musical facilities of the church had been greatly augmented. An orchestra supplemented the organ, with a chorus of 65 voices under the direction of Prof. Gregory Freytag rendered Hummel's Grand Mass in E. The offertory was Mendelssohn's "Lauda Deum," and the processional at the close of the services was Haydn's "The Heavens are Telling."

The Celebrant of the Mass was His Eminence Cardinal Sebastian Martinelli, D. D., Apostolic Delegate.

The sermon of the day was preached by the Bishop of Sioux Falls, Dak., the Rt. Rev. Thomas O'Gorman. This eminent prelate's discourse was among the most masterful ever heard in this historic, old fane. The speaker reviewed the work and influence of the Catholic Church in the civilization of North and South America, from the discovery, down to the present. It was a grand resumé of history, displayed with great ability.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Foley crowned the work of the Catholic Bi-Centennial celebration by a grand reception in the Light Infantry armory Sunday evening, July 28.

The interior was beautifully decorated with flowers and flags, and despite the heat of the evening about 2,500 persons attended. A distinguished gathering of leading Catholics led the way to the platform shortly after the arrival of His Grace the Most Reverend Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul, the orator of the evening.

The exercises were opened by an address from the Mayor of the City, Hon. William C. Maybury, who dwelt upon the important part which religion had played in the growth of the city during its two hundred years of life, and the fitting spirit in which the Catholics of the city were remembering that part. He gracefully introduced Archbishop Ireland, who paid a high tribute to Cadillac and his associates, founders of Detroit. In his concluding remarks, the Archbishop of St. Paul said:

And, now, I bid my hearers return with me to early Fort Ponchartrain. Two days after Cadillac had landed on the shores of the "Detroit," he built a church, and ordered that sacrifice be there offered to Almighty God.

The teaching I would have you take from this is, that without a moral conscience in the community a nation will not endure, and that without religion a moral conscience is not formed.

Together we have admired America; we have professed to her our love and our loyalty; we have prayed in our deep hearts that for our sake, for the sake of our children, for that of humanity she be perpetual. Then, let us heed the teaching coming to us from Cadillac.

The lesson remains which I would impart, which the building of Ste. Anne's church by Cadillac suggests,

that without morals no nation thrives, and that without religion there is for morals no stable basis.

But withal, I am confident that America is safe. Her people will care for America, they love her too well, they have too much good sense, not to avert from her in time evils that threaten her prosperity and her life. They need but to be warned of the presence of such evils. And since the peril to America is from unbelief, we have in her people a further reason for hope. Religion is so instinct in the souls of the American people, it has cast such deep roots into their national life and institutions, that not only it cannot be lost from them; but that the dangers to which it may be at one time exposed will but challenge them to greater love of and greater earnestness in its defense. And God will care for America. America has been so visibly blest by Him, that we can well believe she is the object of His predilection; America symbolizes so much that makes for the liberty and social happiness of all humanity that for humanity's sake we can well believe the God of nations will guard her.

O God, the God of Cadillac, the God of America, unto Thy love we remit our country.

The Mayor then introduced Bishop O'Gorman, who surpassed his previous eloquent tributes to Cadillac.

At the conclusion of Bishop O'Gorman's address, which was received with great applause, the Mayor introduced Bishop Spalding, of Peoria. The Bishop had been heard in Detroit only a few days before in an address to the National Education Association, and he was most generously received. He confined his remarks to some

playful reference to Archbishop Ireland and the Mayor, and to an eulogium of the part which women had taken in the development of the city. His remarks were brief, and as he sat down he was urged by the audience to continue, but to no purpose. The meeting was closed by the rendering of the national anthem by the entire audience.

This ended the Catholic celebration of the Bi-Centenary, so admirably conceived and carried to success by Rt. Rev. Bishop Foley.



MRS. B. C. WHITNEY
President of the Women's Bi-Centenary Committee.

WORK OF THE WOMAN'S BI-CENTENARY COMMITTEE.

His Honor, Mayor Maybury, issued a call to the women of Detroit to meet at the Russell House on Saturday morning, June the eighth, at eleven o'clock, to take steps towards the organization of an auxiliary to the Council and Citizens' Committee, to forward the work of the Celebration. About fifty women responded and, as a result, the Woman's Bi-Centenary Committee was formed. Mrs. Bertram C. Whitney was unanimously chosen as the President and permanent Chairman, Mrs. Marguerite Beaubien, Treasurer, Mrs. James H. Donovan, Recording Secretary, and Miss Isabel Weir, Corresponding Secretary; sub-committees were appointed and work was immediately begun.

The Council and Citizens' Committee had refrained from making any plans for the evening of July 25th and a part of July 26th, in order to leave time for whatever features might be proposed by the auxiliary. The ladies at first regarded with favor a project for a garden fête to be given in Grand Circus Park, but this was abandoned as not feasible, and they decided to hold a public reception in the parlors of the Russell House on Thursday evening, and to arrange a floral parade for Friday afternoon.

It was resolved that the evening assembly should take the form of a "Madame Cadillac Reception," and that a representative woman of Detroit should be chosen to impersonate the brave and beautiful lady who came across three hundred leagues of wilderness to join her husband, and was the first white woman to set foot on the shore where now extend the great buildings and industries of our rapidly growing metropolis.

The members of the committee, in acknowledgment of the zeal and efficiency of their president and also because they felt that their choice would lend an eminent dignity and grace to the occasion, named Mrs. Whitney for the rôle of Madame Cadillac.

Mrs. Whitney, however, declined the honor, and proposed that the invitation be extended to Miss Isabel Weir. There was an especial fitness in this selection of a descendant of Jean Casse St. Aubin, one of the intrepid soldiers who followed the Chevalier de la Mothe from Montreal, and Miss Weir was thereupon chosen to represent Madame Cadillac.

Later, Miss Alice Chapoton, whose ancestor Major Chapoton was surgeon of old Fort Pontchartrain in its early days, accepted the invitation to assume the character of Madame de Tonty, who was Madame Cadillac's friend and companion. Miss Weir proposed that a court of honor be chosen to assist these ladies in receiving, and about two hundred representative women were invited to act with the auxiliary as vice-presidents and patronesses. Of those who responded, sixty-one vice-presidents and a court of honor consisting of sixty-four were named.



MISS ISABEL WEIR

MADAME CADILLAC

It was planned that in the impressiveness of the occasion, and the costumes of Mesdames Cadillac and De Tonty and of the court of honor, the scene should be a reproduction of a courtly festivity of the old régime in Canada.

Yet, however, brilliant the reception, however fairy-like the floral parade, they would soon be but pleasant reminiscences of the Bi-Centenary celebration. To Mrs. Marguerite Beaubien belongs the distinction of having proposed a permanent memorial to the virtues of the veritable Madame Cadillac, this memorial to be a tablet or monument erected by the women of Detroit.

The proposition was at once adopted by the auxiliary, and the Madame Cadillac Memorial Committee was formed with Mrs. Beaubien as chairman.

His Honor, Mayor Maybury having, in the name of the Council and Citizens' Committee, placed at the disposal of the ladies twenty of the city's invitations to the Bi-Centenary, the latter were sent as follows:

To Mesdames Wm. McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, W. I. Roebling, Benton McMillan, Fenald McClean, U. S. Grant, Grover Cleveland, Etta Lee Toby, Lillian Stevens, Potter Palmer, Philip Sheridan, Jefferson Davis, Margaret Bottoms, R. M. Berry, H. S. N. Sumner Fairbanks, G. A. Custer; and Misses Susan B. Anthony, Clara Barton, the Countess of Aberdeen, and Madame Loubet.

The preparation for the floral parade progressed under the supervision of Mrs. F. F. Ingram, the chairman of the committee in charge of this feature of the celebration, with the assistance of experts in the art of ar-

ranging similar pageants. Miss Louise Burns was chosen to be Floral Queen, and it was decided that the queen and the representatives of Mesdames Cadillac and De Tonty should ride in the parade.

As a matter of fact, Madame Cadillac did not reach the shore of the Detroit until nearly a year after the coming of her gallant husband. Nevertheless, to the citizens who gathered in the parlors of the Russell House on the evening of July 26th, there seemed no incongruity in thronging to greet her on the day after they had welcomed with boom of cannon and ringing cheers the little fleet of canoes that, in the late afternoon, floated down the broad, sunlit strait, bringing the representatives of the dauntless Gascon chevalier and his adventurous party of voyageurs, coureurs de bois, and sons of proud Canadian seigneurs.

Monsieur de Cadillac, Captain de Tonty, Lieutenants Dugué and Charconacle, Frére Constantine Del Halle, and Father Vaillant were especially invited to take part in the reception, as were also the city's distinguished guests, Messieurs Pierre de Margérie, "Chargé d' Affaires" of the French embassy at Washington, and Alfred Kleczkowski, French consul-general for Canada.

The soft candle-light of the olden time, would have seemed pale indeed to the brightness of the spacious rooms; an orchestra finer than any ever heard in the colonies in the eighteen century, discoursed gay music, and the gorgeous gold-laced uniforms of the representatives of France, the picturesque attire of the seigneurs, voyageurs, friars, and military of the time of Louis XIV lent an added color to the scene.



MISS ALICE E. CHAPOTON
(MADAME DE TONTY)

A detail of French soldiers of old Fort Pontchartrain stood at either side of the doorway, and several hundred people were assembled in the parlors and halls, when at 8:30 o'clock the receiving party were announced.

A few moments later, the soldiers saluted as Madame Cadillac entered the reception room escorted by Monsieur de Cadillac, the members of the committee following, and passing through the double file of military to their places.

His Honor, Mayor Maybury, as host of the evening introduced the guests to Monsieur de Cadillac, who in turn presented them to Madame Cadillac, and so the presentations continued down the line.

At Madame Cadillac's left stood the French "Charge d' Affaires," then Madame de Tonty, Mrs. Bertram C. Whitney, members of the committee, vice-presidents, and the court of honor.

Tall and stately, the Madame Cadillac of the hour (Miss Weir) was well qualified for the part assigned her, and received her guests with a graciousness and courtesy worthy of the dignified and courtly seigneur of Le Détroit.

She was ably seconded by the president of the Woman' Auxiliary, and by the attendant ladies, each of whom had been requested to constitute herself a hostess for the occasion.

The rich costume of the period of Louis XIV, worn by Madame Cadillac was historically correct, even to the golden and jewel-studded fleurs de lis embroidered on the front of the white satin coat, and the small gold

buttons; which latter were, in fact once owned by a French monarch.

During the evening more than a thousand people, prominent men of Michigan and the Northwest, representatives of foreign governments, private citizens, and enthusiastic American and Canadian ladies thronged to be presented to Madame Cadillac and her little seigneurial court.

A cordial courtesy was the spirit of the occasion; everyone was made welcome, and especially noticeable was the attention paid to the children who passed along the line, every little child being introduced to the dignitaries as punctiliously as were the Governor and his staff and the visitors from a distance.

It was the general verdict of the citizens of Detroit, and also of the strangers present, that the Madame Cadillac reception was in every respect a success.

Crowded with incident as were the days of the Bi-Centenary celebration, and splendid as was the promise of the electrical pageant for the evening of July 26th, early in the afternoon the people thronged the streets with unabated interest to witness the first floral parade ever held in the City of the Straits.

It was pre-eminently woman's day. The air was delightfully cool, the clouds of the morning had disappeared, and as early as 1 o'clock the crowds began to gather on the avenues and the steps of the churches, and to fill the windows of the buildings along the route of the parade. The sun shone gloriously upon the thousands of flags and decorations, the streets were literally



MRS. JAS. H. DONOVAN

MRS. F. F. INGRAM.

MRS. MARGUERITE BEAUBIEN

lined with color. The usual tranquil seclusion of Cass Park was a scene of rainbow confusion for two hours before the starting of the procession. As each new addition to the assembled carriages arrived, the spectators closed in to obtain a nearer view. Automobiles, beautiful as fairy chariots glided silently by; carriages drawn by prancing horses, and showing in their decoration nearly every color and hue in the flower kingdom, were driven hither and thither. Shortly after 3 o'clock, the bugle of the military band sounded the advance, and to inspiriting martial music, the parade began.

At the head rode Governor Bliss and Chief Marshal Latimer with their staffs and eminent army officers. The bands followed. Then came the victoria of Mesdames Cadillac and De Toney, accompanied by outriders.

The ladies were gowned in historic dress; the carriage seemed built of white roses varied with the green of smilax, so completely was the framework hidden. At the back gleamed the white banner of the fleur de lis and a shield bearing the arms of Cadillac; clusters of purple fleurs de lis, from which floated streamers of royal purple, adorned the sides and front. The victoria was drawn by two snow-white horses, the harness being concealed by garlands of roses.

This handsome equipage was followed by a long line of others, the occupants of the carriages being ladies of the first social position in the city, attired in exquisite summer costumes chosen to harmonize with the prevailing color designs.

Among the turnouts which evoked the greatest applause were Mrs. B. C. Whitney's English dog-cart decorated with yellow California poppies; Mayor Maybury's carriage, an effective combination of yellow roses against a black background; the Olds automobile, a mass of purple and white chrysanthemums; and Mrs. Henry B. Lewis' automobile, which was covered with yellow asters that shone brightly in the sunlight and contrasted well with the soft green of the aster leaves, its artistic effect being greatly enhanced by two peacocks, one poised with outspread tail on the rear of the carriage, the other on the front.

Also Mrs. Ingram's phaeton decked with white roses and purple chrysanthemums, and Miss Halloran's surrey adorned with morning-glories.

The Floral Queen presented a charming picture of youth and grace in her royal robes of white, and her equipage was one which any sovereign might envy. The color scheme being white and gold, over six thousand white roses were used in the decoration of the body of the carriage and ten thousand white and gold marguerites. The horses were coal black; the trumpeters in white livery, rode ahead, and an escort mounted on black chargers accompanied the queen.

Space is wanting to describe the parade in detail. Almost every carriage as it passed a given point seemed to out-rival in beauty those that had preceded it. So truly was this the case that the guests of the city, who had consented to act as judges for the prizes to be given, found it impossible to decide to which equipages they should be awarded.



MISS LOUISE BURNS
FLORAL QUEEN

Madame Cadillac, the Floral Queen, and Mrs. Whitney, President of the Woman's Auxiliary, declined to allow their carriages to be considered in the competition.

At Washington Park occurred the battle of the flowers between the two divisions of the parade. A brilliant kaleidoscopic effect of color and movement was produced by the showers of blossoms and confetti. Amid the merriment of the contest and the applause of the spectators, Madame Cadillac, Madame de Tonty and the Floral Queen entered the Cadillac Hotel and viewed the battle from the balcony. At its conclusion they held a reception.

A few days later a committee of gentlemen, of which his Honor, Mayor Maybury, was chairman, after ample consultation, awarded prizes for taste and excellence as follows:

FIRST CLASS.

To Mrs. Girardot, of Sandwitch, Ont., for her carriage studded with yellow chrysanthemums.

To Mrs. John Davis, of Windsor, Ont., for her victoria decorated with pink roses.

To Mrs. Swift, of Walkerville, Ont., for her carriage adorned with hollyhocks, poppies, wheat and oats.

To Mrs. Henry B. Lewis for her automobile.

To Mrs. F. J. Hecker, of Detroit, for her victoria formed of Maréchal Neil roses.

To Swartz Brothers, for their wagonette trimmed with violets of every tint from the palest to the deepest shade.

SECOND CLASS.

To W. E. Metzger, for his automobile decorated with yellow and red chrysanthemums and a profusion of natural flowers.

To T. B. Finch, for his auto-trap with white roses and white doves.

To Fred Sanders, for his automobile decked with natural flowers, waterlilies, morning glories and white doves.

To the L. C. B. A., for their carriage with water lilies and leaves.

To the Ladies' Maccabees, for their float, the floral bee-hive.

To Mrs. C. R. Dudley, for her Stanhope garlanded with pink roses and smilax.

THIRD CLASS.

To the Forresters, for their tally-ho coach of red and white roses.

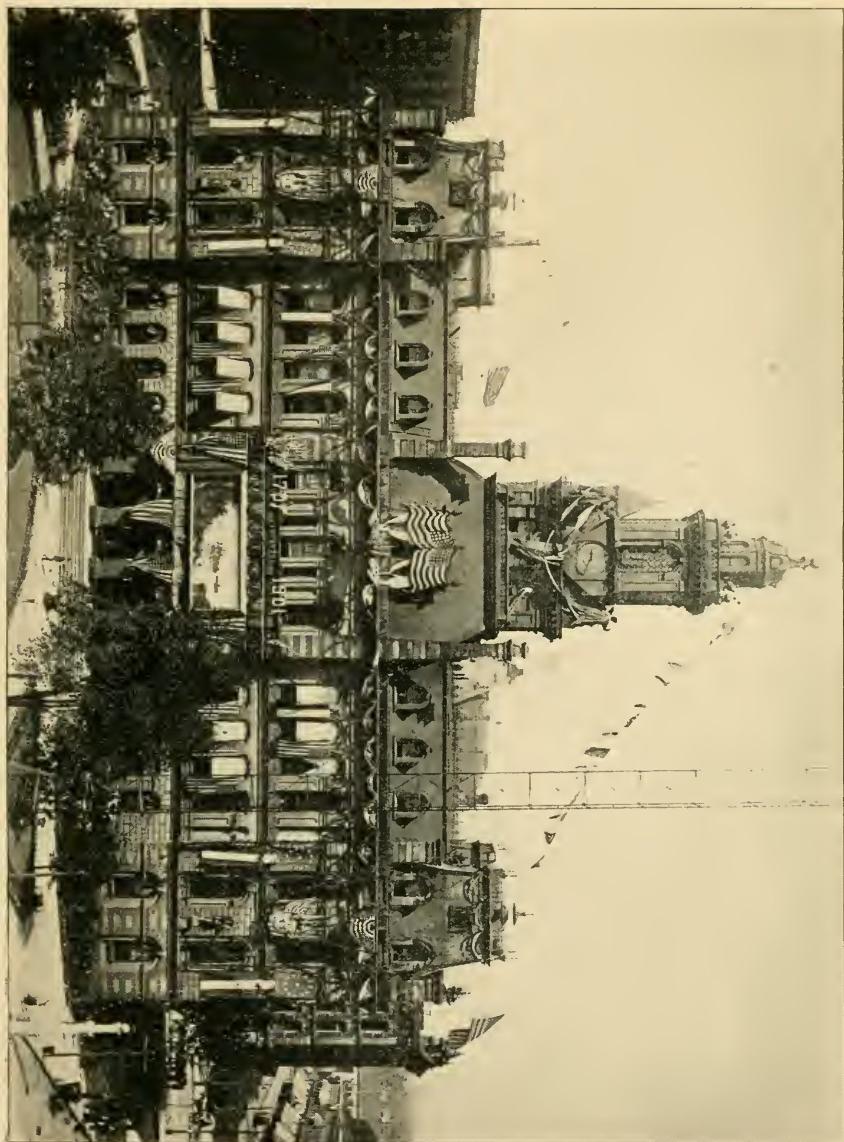
To the A. O. H., for their carriage showing a beautiful design in green.

To C. L. Delameter, for his superb car of progress.

To Masters Pungs and Ingram, for their pony carriages appropriately ornamented.

To Mrs. George Beck, for her phaeton wreathed with red poppies.

The prizes were donated by the leading jewelers of the city.



THE CITY HALL—DECORATED FOR THE CELEBRATION

During the weeks that preceded the celebration the Madame Cadillac Memorial Committee were active, and, owing in a great measure to the energy of the chairman, Mrs. Marguerite Beaubien, as well as to the popular interest, the success of the project is now assured.

In the social reception and the floral parade the Auxiliary strove to add to the splendor of the Bi-Centenary celebration the touch of grace and beauty which it is woman's province to bestow. In the Madame Cadillac Memorial they feel that they are erecting a tribute not only to the noble lady whose influence for good left an impression upon our community, but to the pioneer spirit of the first women settlers of the Northwest, and to woman's fairest ideals.

MARY CATHERINE CROWLEY.

The following are the lists of the committees and of the vice-presidents, patronesses, and court of honor of the Madame Cadillac reception:

MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

Mrs. Marguerite Beaubien	Miss Mary C. Crowley	Miss Mary Ducey
Mrs. Catherine B. Weir	Mrs. W. R. Farrand	Mrs. E. T. Sibley
Mrs. John Walker	Mrs. Lyman Baldwin	Mrs. Geo. Carlyle
Mrs. Isabel Weir	Mrs. Jas. H. Donovan.	Mrs. Gibbs
Mrs. J. V. Moran	Mrs. F. F. Choate,	
Mrs. B. C. Whitney	Miss Cornelius Roberts	

FLORAL COMMITTEE

Mrs. F. F. Ingram	Mrs. S. M. Dudley	Miss Mary Stanley
Mrs. D. O. Wood	Mrs. H. L. Obetz	Miss Stoddard
Mrs. F. D. Wakefield	Mrs. Fred Hartz	

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Mrs. B. C. Whitney	Miss Isabel Weir	Miss Mary Ducey
Mrs. Fred Sibley	Mrs. Henry Starkey	Mrs. J. H. Donovan
Mrs. S. E. Pittman	Mrs. John Walker	
Mrs. Lyman Baldwin	Mrs. Leartes Connor	

PRESS COMMITTEE

Mrs. W. R. Farrand	Mrs. John Walker	Mrs. J. H. Donovan
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INVITATION COMMITTEE.

Mrs. B. C. Whitney	Mrs. W. R. Farrand	Miss Isabel Weir
Mrs. J. V. Moran	Mrs. Lyman Baldwin	

COURT OF HONOR

Mrs. Justin E. Emerson	Mrs. La Ferté	Miss Starkey
Mrs. Joseph Belanger	Mrs. Walter Conner	Mrs. McDonald
Mrs. F. F. Palms	Miss Katherine Flynn	Miss Aileen McDonald
Mrs. Ernest Girardot	Mrs. Wm. R. Farrand	Mrs. Dodge
Mrs. Choate,	Miss Elise Campau	Mrs. Henry B. Lewis
Miss Whipple	Mrs. A. Y. Ladue	Mrs. Michael Brennan
Mrs. Jeremiah Dwyer	Mrs. Henry M. Wright	Mrs. Jas. H. Donovan
Mrs. F. E. Burns	Miss Emma E. Bower	Mrs. F. J. Sibley
Mrs. J. Coleman Crowley	Miss Hayes	Miss Elise Donovan
Miss Mary Catherine Crowley	Mrs. Lydecker	Miss S. S. Graves
Mrs. Emma D. Cook	Miss Lydecker	Mrs. John V. Moran
Mrs. John B. Lawrence	Miss Elbert	Mrs. C. B. Weir
Misses Lewis	Mrs. J. H. King	Mrs. Henry D. Barnard
Mrs. A. Chapoton	Miss King	Mrs. Plumb
Mrs. Handbury	Mrs. Marguerite Beaubien	Mrs. S. E. Pittman
Mrs. Cyrus E. Lothrop	Mrs. Lyman Baldwin	Mrs. L. L. Barbour
Mrs. Francis E. Dwyer	Mrs. Eleanor J. Starkey	Mrs. Weber
Mrs. M. W. O'Brien	Mrs. B. C. Whitney	Mrs. J. B. Morris
Miss O'Brien	Miss Moran	Dr. Florence Huson
Miss Louise O'Brien	Mrs. Forbes	Mrs. F. F. Ingram
Mrs. J. C. Moran	Miss Forbes	

LIST OF PATRONESSES AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Mrs. John V. Moran	Mrs. F. K. Stearns	Mrs. J. F. Weber
Mrs. M. W. O'Brien	Mrs. H. P. Davock	Mrs. J. B. Morris
Mrs. W. D. Morton	Mrs. R. P. Williams	Miss Jennie Maybury
Mrs. Charles Noble	Mrs. J. McCarroll	Mrs. John Davis
Mrs. Thomas McGraw	Mrs. T. P. Hall	Mrs. Henry Russel
Mrs. W. H. Strong	Mrs. La Ferté	Mrs. H. Meredith
Mrs. James I. Sterling	Mrs. C. Carpenter.	Mrs. George Russel
Mrs. Noel C. O'Brien	Mrs. Philip Beaubien	Mrs. H. Carhartt
Mrs. Dr. Anderson	Mrs. J. B. Ford	Mrs. M. W. Field
Mrs. Wm. T. Gage	Mrs. Daniel Scotten	Mrs. George Hendrie
Mrs. E. H. McCurdy	Mrs. Fred Bamford	Mrs. Chas. Swift
Mrs. M. Brennan	Mrs. J. G. Craig	Mrs. Luther S. Trowbridge
Mrs. Sylvester Larned	Mrs. W. H. Kessler	Mrs. Henry Barnard
Mrs. Henry N. Walker	Mrs. H. T. Brush	Mrs. F. Palmer Church
Mrs. Francis F. Palms	Mrs. Lou Burt	Mrs. Josephine Lancashire
Mrs. W. J. Chittenden	Mrs. L. C. Waldo	Mrs. N. K. Riddle
Mrs. J. S. Newberry	Mrs. F. C. Andrews	Miss Grace Moffat
Wrs. David Whitney	Mrs. C. A. Dean	Miss Anna Pitkin
Mrs. H. E. Spaulding	Mrs. Henry Williams	Miss Grace Stridiron
Mrs. C. E. Dudley	Mrs. Edward Telfer	Mrs. J. Colman Crowley
Mrs. John N. Bagley	Mrs. R. E. Olds	Miss Mary Catherine Crowley

THE BI-CENTENARY BOX.

The closing of the nineteenth century was celebrated in Detroit in a manner somewhat unusual. As the new century was ushered in bells of churches, school-houses and engine houses sounded forth their welcome. As the bell upon the tower of the city hall tolled the hour of midnight and the dawn of the new century was proclaimed, a box was sealed up in the office of the mayor, the contents of which are to be disclosed only to those whose good fortune it will be to live in Detroit at the opening of the twenty-first century. The box, which was manufactured by the Detroit Copper and Brass Rolling Mills, is almost square in form, of rolled copper and bears a metal card pledging the passing century not to disturb the box in any way or open it under any circumstance. It is an agreement that this box shall be kept safe and secure in the archives of the city until it is presented to the chief executive of Detroit on the morning of the 1st of January, 2001. Of the contents only this can be said, that the box contains sixty-four communications obtained by the mayor from citizens active in the social, commercial, religious, and political life of the city of Detroit at this time. The persons selected to write the respective communications contained in the box are those who are recognized as especially fitted to treat of the



THE BI-CENTENARY BOX

occupation, art, amusement, profession or calling in which their lives are chiefly employed. Just before sealing the box in the presence of a concourse filling the office of the Mayor, and while the Campus Martius was crowded with cheering people, the following letter was read, then sealed and placed in the box:

Detroit, Mich., Dec. 31, 1900.

To His Honor, the Mayor of Detroit in 2001 and the generation whose privilege and, I trust, pleasure, it will be to read the contents of this box, Health and Greeting:

The papers herein contained now for the first time brought to light by you, after a retirement of one hundred years, were prepared at my request by men and women prominent in the activities of Detroit at the close of the nineteenth century. Our desire is to convey to you across the long span of the century as clear an insight as is possible into the social, religious, moral, commercial and political affairs of Detroit. It will be to you a testimony from living witnesses of the events which they chronicle and conditions which they describe. From testimony so transmitted you will be better able to discern what advancement you have made from the modest beginning to which we are witnesses.

We are well aware that the century closing has been marvelous in its achievements and we might be fairly excused for believing that the limit of possibilities has been accomplished in many ways, but on the contrary we do not so believe because the past has taught us that what seemed to be impossible has been already accom-

plished, and we would therefore not be greatly surprised at greater accomplishments in the future.

We communicate by telegraph and telephone over distances that at the opening of the nineteenth century were insurmountable. We travel at a rate not dreamed of then. The powers of electricity have been applied marvelously, and compressed air and other agencies are now undergoing promising experiments. We travel by railroad and steam power from Detroit to Chicago in less than eight hours, and to New York City by several routes in less than twenty hours. How much faster are you travelling? How much farther have you annihilated time and space and what agencies are you employing to which we are strangers? We talk by long distance telephone to the remotest cities in our own country, and with a fair degree of practical success. Are you talking with foreign lands and to the islands of the sea by the same method?

And so throughout all the various pathways of human progress the papers in this box will bring to your notice a knowledge of present conditions and possible works somewhat prophetic of the future. How correct our prophesies may be we know not, for we write them in doubt and yet in hopefulness. We write them in the fervent belief that you will stand upon a vantage ground of experience far higher and more resplendent than our own. We ask therefore for those who assume to prophecy your kindest consideration and judgment, especially when we assure you that these prophets are not without honor, even in their own country and in their own time.

If we may judge from the history of human life and all experience, very few, if any, of the three hundred thousand souls who are now inhabitants of Detroit will exist when you have opened this box which we have so solemnly closed, and yet it may be possible that much which we accept from faith may be to you then knowledge, and possibly that knowledge may come with consciousness that we may be witnesses and even listeners to the voices that will interpret the words we have written. Begging that you will accept for helpfulness all that tends to your information and good, and look most kindly upon that, which may seem at your time to be a fault, I close this tribute.

May we be permitted to express one supreme hope that whatever failures the coming century may have in the progress of things material, you may be conscious when the century is over, that, as a nation, people and city, you have grown in righteousness, for it is this that exalts a nation.

Respectfully and affectionately submitted,

WILLIAM C. MAYBURY,
Mayor.

This box was subsequently transferred by the mayor to the common council, and by special order of that body was placed in the city archives, under the immediate control of the commissioners of the sinking fund and the city controller. The box is to be carried among the

assets of the city, appearing in the yearly report of the controller, until it is finally turned over to those who are authorized to open it and to reveal its contents. This will only be done when the silent pilgrimage of the box through the century is ended.

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF EARLY DETROIT.

By Miss Mary Catherine Crowley.

MAYOR MAYBURY'S INTRODUCTION.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are now to hear the best that can be gathered of the social life of early Detroit, and we are peculiarly favored in anticipating this pleasure from the thoughts of one who very lately gave to the reading world a delightful history of early Detroit, under the title of "A Daughter of New France." The book of the distinguished author has been most timely and not only furnished in the splendid garb of romance a very accurate history of events in the founding of Detroit, but has caused research to be made by others whose interest could not have been otherwise excited. It is therefore with great pleasure that I introduce to this audience Miss Mary Catherine Crowley.

Miss Crowley spoke as follows:

At the beginning of these exercises the hall resounded to the martial notes of the "Marseillaise," the liberty song of the French Republic. Later in the program it will ring with the stirring strains of "God Save the King," a reminiscence of Detroit under British rule, and an air beloved among us, for we have renamed it "America."

Upon first thought there would seem to be no close relation between "America," the hymn of a country governed by its people, and the Chevalier de Cadillac, the representative of the Great Autocrat, Louis the Fourteenth; yet, by a poetic coincidence, this noble melody links the early days of Detroit with our Detroit of to-day. In fact, it may be said to be the history of our city expressed in music.

Strangely enough, the music of "America" was the first patriotic air that aroused the echoes of the wooded shores of our beautiful river; it was the air which the soldiers of Cadillac sang in glad triumph when they landed on the green bank of the Detroit two hundred years ago to-day! For it was then the great national air of France, having been composed by the musician Lulli in honor of the victorious king, Louis the Fourteenth and sung before that monarch by the school-girls of Saint Cyr in 1652, as it is sung, with other words, in the Schools of the Legion of Honor, near Paris, to-day. From France, it made its way into the patriotic music of Germany, and later, adapted by Handel, became the national anthem of Great Britain, whence it came back to us.

Therefore, the air "America" represents the history of our city under the Fleur de lis, under the standard of St. George, and under the blessed "Star-Spangled Banner."

It is my privilege to sketch for this Bi-Centenary celebration the social life of the brave, adventurous, and resolute men and women who laid the foundations of Detroit; to picture the days when the present area of the

Metropolis of the Strait was as the heart of the wilderness, save for half a hundred thatched-roof stake-houses on the river margin, surrounded by a palisade built of young trees from the forest.

The beginning of the social life of Detroit might perhaps best be portrayed by a series of "Tableaux Vivants," the first being a representation of the young La Mothe Launay de Cadillac at St. Nicolas de la Grâve. For as "the boy is father to the man," so the man will unconsciously impress upon his surroundings something of the character of his boyhood's home, even though this home may have been simple while his later station is exalted, or vice versa.

The early environment of Cadillac must have been one of ease and refinement. He was the son of Jean Launay or Laumet de Cadillac, an advocate and a member of the parliament of Toulouse. A gently-bred mother (Jeanne Pechagut Launay de Cadillac), strove to curb his high temper and imperious disposition, and to soften his brusqueness. If in this task she was not very successful, still, on occasion he was distinguished for his courtesy; and when he chose, his manner was characterized by a dignity, courtliness, and grace which made him a picturesque and attractive personality among the chevaliers of New France. It has been surmised that he may have been educated by the Jesuits and afterwards dismissed by them as unpromising material whereof to make a missionary, and that herein may be found the root of his implacable hostility and bitterness toward their Order.

Be this as it may,—gifted with a clever and even a brilliant mind, he was favored with more advantages of education than at the period fell to the lot of many young men of more aristocratic lineage and greater material possessions. His letters prove that he was remarkably ready with his pen in an age when few soldiers evinced literary taste or aptitude, that he possessed a fair knowledge of Latin, an ability to quote sagely from the Bible, and to hold his own in religious discussions. As a soldier of fortune, he developed the cool courage, decision, and readiness of resource which later led men to confidently follow him into the wilds. Nevertheless, when he appears upon the scene of Quebec, at the wine brawl in the cabaret of the Widow St. Armand (as often at other times), his boastfulness and combativeness suggest a comparison with that other brave and vain-glorious Gascon, the hero of Dumas' "Three Musketeers."

The founder of Detroit was, indeed, a D'Artagnan with scarce a sou at the opening of his career, an unknown lieutenant of the famous regiment of Carnignan-Sallières. Commissions, both military and marine, were soon bestowed upon him, however, and he was a seigneur of Acadia when he visited the City of Champlain in 1687 and won for his bride Marie Thérèse Guyon, a niece of the partner of some of his enterprises, the redoubtable Francois Guyon.

In the light of French-Canadian history, this noted privateer appears as the bold sailor who performed prodigies of valor in the service of the Sun-King, and took his pay in the spoils of British ships and Spanish galleons;

as the patriot who helped to repel the invasion of Sir William Phipps,—rather than as the ruthless pirate painted by English writers.

From Quebec to Acadia, from Acadia to Versailles, then to Michilimackinac; again to the court, and back to the wilderness; such was the life of La Mothe Cadillac before he landed on the northern bank of the Detroit River two hundred years ago today.

The followers of the dashing chevalier were for the most part a rough and hardy throng. Yet, besides the officers, there were among them a few men not used to manual labor; younger sons from the seigneuries of the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu.

From some sources, it is true, we have no pleasing portrayal of the scions of the noblesse of New France. Scarce ten years had passed since the Intendant Cham-pigny declared pride and sloth to be the great faults of the nobles of Canada, who had fallen into misery because of their ambition to live without labor and as persons of quality.

Not long before, he had written to ask aid of Louis the Fourteenth for "the king of Repentigny," with his thirteen children, and Tilly with his fifteen," urging, "we must give them some corn at once or they will starve." About the same time, Governor Denonville wrote of "Monsieur de St. Ours, a gentleman from Dauphiny, who asked leave to go back to France in search of bread, saying he would put his ten children in charge of anyone who would give them a living." The Governor adds that he had often seen two of this man's daughters reap-

ing grain and holding the plow. Other women of noted families were also as greatly reduced in circumstances, but each one, upon opportunity, still played the fine lady.

Though Parkman, the fascinating historian of "The Old Régime in Canada," gives us this sombre sketch, he presents a companion picture as glowing with light and color as the former is grey and prosaic. The young noble of New France, he says, "Threw himself into the only field of action which in time of peace was open to him. It was trade, but trade seasoned by adventure and ennobled by danger; defiant of edict and ordinance, outlawed, conducted in arms among forests and savages,—in short it was the Western Fur Trade. On the Great Lakes, in the wastes of the Northwest, on the Mississippi and the plains beyond, we find the roving gentilhomme chief of a gang of bush-rangers, often his own habitants; sometimes proscribed by the government, sometimes leagued in contraband traffic with its highest officials; a hardy vidette of civilization, tracing unknown streams, piercing unknown forests, trading, fighting, negotiating, and building forts. Again we find him on the shores of Acadia or Maine, surrounded by Indian retainers, a menace and a terror to the neighboring English colonist. Saint-Castin, Du Lhut, La Durantaye, La Salle, La Mothe Cadillac, Iberville, Bienville, La Vérendrye, are names that stand conspicuous on the page of half-savage romance that refreshes the hard and practical annals of American colonization. * * * It was they, and such as they, who discovered the Ohio and the

Rocky Mountains, explored the Mississippi to its mouth, and founded Detroit, St. Louis and New Orleans.

But, even in his earliest day, the gentilhomme was not invariably in the sad plight first described. There were exceptions to the general misery, and chief among these was the eminent Le Moyne de Longueil. Ere long, too, the cultivated lands of the seigneuries began to yield appreciable returns, the impoverished noble became a sturdy country gentleman, "hardy as the hardiest woodsman, yet never forgetting his quality of gentilhomme; scrupulously wearing its badge, the sword, and copying as well as he could the fashions of the court which glowed on his vision across the sea in all the effulgence of Versailles, and beamed with reflected ray from the Chateau of Quebec."

It was at the dawn of the eighteenth century that the sons of the proud Canadian nobles began to demand a better career than that of the outlawed *courieur de bois*. In Cadillac's plan for a colony some of these young men saw their opportunity. To us the claim of distinguished rank or ancestry is of secondary moment. What we want to know first is whether a man is "standard gold," whether he "rings true." Most to the credit of these young seigneurs was the fact that upon their arrival at Le Détroit they promptly went to work with their hands.

Those who, in their eagerness to be of the party took service as bargemen, did the work of bargemen; those who took up land as farmers followed and sometimes drew the plow; the few who engaged as artisans learned to work at the forge, or as hewers of wood and carpenters

helped to build the palisade, the church, the houses. If a few years later there were to be found here folk of high sounding names which they had adopted to suit themselves, there were others, like the Sieurs Desrochers, De Muy, De Mersac, De Roquetaliade, De la Vallée René and De Navarre who had dropped their titles as too ostentatious for use in this work-a-day world of the wilderness, save on such great occasions as a wedding or a funeral.

The foundation stones of the city were Industry and Religion. No sooner had Cadillac and his party landed from their canoes than, on the crest of the green bank, all the company fell upon their knees, while the missionaries, Del Halle and Vaillant, with prayer and chant, set up the Cross, the symbol of Christianity. That same evening the settlers erected a rude altar, and the next morning "the sweet sound of Father Constantin's little bell summoned the garrison to early Mass, and told that the first chaplain of Detroit had begun his mission." Two days later, on the feast of "the good Ste. Anne," a chapel built of logs, young saplings, and forest boughs, was dedicated.

Such were the men who formed the earliest social life of Detroit.

Tennyson describes for us an Adamless Eden; Detroit was once an Eveless Eden; there were no women in the little town of Fort Pontchartrain for nearly a year after the coming of Cadillac on that sultry July day of 1701. It is sometimes premised that had Eve not been in paradise, Adam would never have eaten the forbidden

apple, and thus brought tribulation upon the human race. Some mysoginists would even have us believe that were it not for "the woman," man might be in paradise to this day. And yet, when he was absolute lord of this region, which Dollier and De Galinée termed "the Terrestrial Paradise of Canada," man got into trouble for himself.

Long before spring, Cadillac had quarreled with Father Vaillant and, by driving away the "Black Robe," had deprived himself of a powerful intermediary with the Indians and taken a step nearer his own ruin; while several among his followers had practically deserted and adopted the savage life of the forest.

During that first winter in the little stockade, however, the social circle of the commandant formed, with one or two exceptions, a congenial company. There was Cadillac himself, brilliant in conversation when he was in the mood; rich in recollections of days at court, in camp, and on the seas; of caustic wit, and ready of repartee. There was De Tonty, suave, elegant, and still professing a devoted friendship for his chief. There were the Lieutenants Dugué and Charconacle, and the Recollet priest, Father Constantin Del Halle, a man of a distinguished family of Florence who, having given all his possessions to the poor, had become a humble missionary, and accompanied the expedition of the Sieur Cadillac to be curé of the first congregation of white men at Detroit, and to labor among the Indians. Father Constantin, learned, accomplished, courtly; whose very goodness, and his zeal to promote amicable relations between

the French and the redmen, cost him his life at the hands of the chief Le Pasant.

For diversion the officers had sword practice;—when Cadillac left Fort Pontchartrain for Louisiana in 1712 there were enumerated among his effects eighteen swords and rapiers. The other amusements of his military family were probably card-playing, dicing, canoeing, fishing, hunting, together with lacrosse and other sports upon the ice. Either then or later they had also “one hundred small trumpets” wherewith to impress the Indians and to arouse the enthusiasm of the soldiery.

The stockade inclosed an arpont of land within the space now bounded by Jefferson avenue on the north, Griswold street on the east, and Shelby street on the west.

As for the garrison, and the motley number of artisans, boatmen, and wood-rangers who made up the population,—in summer they labored at building the town, fished and played at games of chance. When autumn came, they roughly prepared the ground for grain, taking turns at drawing the plow, for there were no horses in the settlement. Some time later, Cadillac had one sent down from Montreal to work his mill, but this old ‘Colin’ was the only horse in Detroit for many years. It is recorded that when De la Mothe left this region he was forbidden to sell his possessions here, including this horse, the government alleging that the new commandant, De la Fôrest, needed them for his own use, yet had no money wherewith to pay for them.

The wheat, sown with so much toil during the first October spent by the French at the Strait, was reaped the following July. For meat the settlers hunted the forest. In the winter they strengthened their defences and continued their building. Whatever rude furniture they had was, of course, also made here. They had to rely entirely upon home industries.

For recreation, some of the men were wont to gather around the open fireplaces in the great lodges of the red chiefs, smoking the Indian weed and telling stories. Others passed the long evenings in merriment, with dancing, singing, feasting, when the wherewith was to be had, and too often in carousing.

But the first voyageurs who came through the river at the breaking up of the ice brought intelligence which caused the greatest excitement the town had known since the day of its foundation. This was the news that the women were coming! Madame Cadillac, Madame De Tonty, and at least three or four women attendants, probably soldiers' wives, were on the way to join their husbands. At Quebec the parents of Madame Cadillac had been parishioners of the saintly prince-bishop, Mon-siegneur de Laval. From the pulpit of Notre Dame, the instruction of both Jesuit and Recollet, the teaching of the Ursuline Nuns and of her own good French-Canadian mother, pretty Marie Thérèse Guyon had learned the virtues that were to have so marked an influence upon the social life of early Detroit.

The fair Thérèse had been trained to prudent, house-keeperly ways. The daughter and sister of prosperous

merchants, early in her married life she began to show that she possessed a share of the business and executive ability which distinguished her family. She was unconsciously preparing to be the leader of the women of a pioneer colony.

On the 10th of September, 1701, Madame Cadillac had, with her wonted energy, gone from Quebec to Three Rivers, and having, according to La Mothe's previous instructions, bought up stores for the journey there and at Montreal, had with her party continued up the St. Lawrence to Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Ontario, where they passed the inclement season. In the spring they came on, by way of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. Let us picture their arrival at Detroit.

One day toward the end of May the sentry whose pleasant task it is to watch the river, beholds down toward the lake of the Eries a dark object just at the line where the blue-grey clouds and the silver waters meet; so far off that it might almost be mistaken for a wild duck which as it flies dips its wings to the surface of the stream, a fog stealing up from the lake, or the smoke of an Indian fire blown from the land. As it draws nearer, however, it is seen to be a canoe; another appears in its wake. The sentry calls the news in a loud voice and every civilian in the little town hurries to the strand; the occupants of the skiffs may be a party of redskins returning from the lower lakes, or perhaps even a band of Iroquois come with treacherous offerings of peace belts, as they did at Michillimackinac.

Monsieur de Cadillac orders the garrison under arms. The bateaux come nearer, now a white banner waves from the prow of the foremost canoe as it glides up the shining path made by the sunlight, a sunbeam kisses the flag, and at the same moment the spectators on the shore catch sight of its golden fleurs de lis. A glad shout goes up from a hundred throats, "This is verily the convoy from Fort Frontenac."

The cry re-echoes from the woods and the opposite shore; a salute is fired from the little cannon of the fort, the soldiers line up to welcome the travellers with military formality. Cadillac and his officers, with Father Del Halle, go down to the water's edge, the small throng of settlers press forward likewise, and the savages hasten from their villages, eager to kiss the hands of the valiant ladies, and declaring: "From this we know that the French mean to be friends with us;—white women have come to dwell in our country."

Now we distinguish the figures in the canoes; the Indian rowers, the sturdy forms of the Canadians who form the escort of the women; the happy wives of the soldiers. In the stern of the ladies' flagship we see Madame de Tonty, buxom and comely, a charming picture of a young matron of New France; Madame Cadillac, handsome and graciously dignified as the wife of the seigneur should be, yet with a bright, glad smile. Against her knee leans little Jacques, her six-year-old son, who calls out cheerily at sight of his father and of his older brother Antoine, who came with Cadillac.

"Vive les dames, vive les jolies Canadiennes," shout the people on the river margin. And their exuberantly happy greeting is answered by the boatmen,—

"Vive, vive le Commandant du Roi."

"Vive, vive les habitants du Détroit."

Too much cannot be said in praise of the courage of these first women of Detroit in undertaking this long and arduous voyage.

Madame Cadillac had seen far more of life and of the new world than most women of her time. As a bride she had voyaged to Acadia; she had lived at her husband's seigneury of Mont Désert; some historians say that after the seizure of Port Royal by Sir William Phipps, she was taken as a prisoner to Boston. She knew the dangers that would menace this present journey, yet she was neither dismayed nor daunted.

The other women had probably never before left their native towns, Quebec, Three Rivers, or some little village on the shore of the St. Lawrence. They could form no conception of the appalling distance they would have to traverse, the awful silence of the wilderness; the hardships and peril of sleeping out under the stars or rain in open canoes drawn up on the strand of river or lake, the long journey afoot through the forest at the portage of the Niagara.

It is told of Cadillac's company, which came by the upper route, that when they had travelled for a week or more, one of the officers and several civilians, disheartened by the weariness of the way, and the certain privations that lay before them, abandoned the expedition.

Neither history nor tradition offers evidence of any such wavering in the party of Madame Cadillac; as far as we know of this time or later, not a woman turned back!

But, while we are lost in admiration of these intrepid women, there is another aspect of the case.

It was clearly next to impossible for a man to get away from his wife in those days. The good woman was sure to follow him, even hundreds of leagues into the wilderness, to see what he was doing there.

The coming of the women to old Fort Pontchartrain gave to Cadillac's undertaking the element of stability that it needed. Up to this time, Detroit had been but a military post with a few resident traders and artisans. Thenceforth it became really a colony, since—

"A man's first, best country ever is, at home." And

If solid happiness we prize,
From our own selves our joys must come,
And that dear hut, our home."

Madame Cadillac was the first white woman to step upon these shores, and it was she who founded here the first civilized home.

In 1703 another band of wives journeyed the three hundred leagues from the St. Lawrence to the Strait.

Marvellous was the change which the presence of the new colonists made in the little settlement. The cabins, hitherto but places of shelter or revelling, now became cheery and neat. The men, who had gone about unshaven and unshorn, began to pay more heed to their appearance; they wore their red caps with a jauntier air;

their red blouses showed no more rents, or patches put on by awkward sewers. The garrison grumbled no more at the daily drill, but were ever ready to go on parade. The narrow streets of Ste. Anne, St. Louis, St. Joachim, and St. Francois were livelier for the gay kirtles of the women; and it was pleasant in the church on a Sunday to see the Normandy head-dresses of the settlers' wives, the elegant fontanges, or coiffures, and veils of the ladies. The whole town took on an air of thrift, prosperity, and contentment.

The early homes of Fort Pontchartrain were, however, primitive enough. The windows of the houses had no glass, but there were wooden shutters, or else deerskin curtains of Indian manufacture, tanned to a pale yellow and embroidered with dyed porcupine quills. The rafters were hung with a golden tapestry of seed corn, dried pumpkins, and the vegetable seeds saved from the previous summer; and, suspended near the fire in the open chimney might be seen shoulders of smoked ham and pieces of jerked venison. Mats of the river grasses, plaited by the hands of the panisses slaves, covered the puncheon floors.

The first manor of Detroit was a stake house. The second, built on the same site after the conflagration which in 1703 destroyed the best part of the town, was perhaps of squared logs. It was situated on Ste. Anne street, on part of the ground now occupied by the buildings Nos. 133, 135 and 137 Jefferson avenue.

But although his mansion was little better than the cabins of his followers, Cadillac from the beginning af-

fected a pomp befitting the seigneur. To uphold his personal dignity was to uphold the dignity of law and order. Here in the wilderness he might say as truly as the great Louis upon his throne, "I am the State."

Like the seigneurs of the St. Lawrence, he aped the feudal lord, and the settlers were his censitaires or vassals. We may be sure that, as soon as might be, he had shipped to him from Montreal a carved chair or two of French manufacture, and odd pieces of silver plate, trifles which yet would magnify his importance as Lord of the Strait and help to define the difference between him and his followers.

Whenever Cadillac appeared in public he wore either his uniform as commandant or his court dress, and a sword clanged at his side. We may infer that Madame Cadillac as punctiliously went attired in her silken gowns long after the fashion of them had passed, and graced the rôle of lady of the manor to the last day of her stay at Detroit.

Probably, also, she possessed and valued, as did the ladies of her time, a chain of gold, and bits of lace from France and Flanders, and it may be supposed that these fripperies played their part in the early society of the manor-house.

During the first year of Madame Cadillac's residence here, her only woman friend and companion was probably Madame de Tonty, but she was soon joined by the young girl, Genevieve le Tendre, who, in 1704, is mentioned as the god-mother of her child Thérèse; and after a while her little circle included the wives of the Sieurs de la Vallée René, de Mersac, and others.

Up to 1708 there were, however, only thirty-nine houses within the fort, and Mr. Farmer tells us that the whole number of French settlers was sixty-three, of whom thirty-four were traders. The same year twenty-nine soldiers, whose term of service had expired, settled at the post, among them de Mersac, Desrocher, La Ferté, and St. Aubin. All of the garrison were lodged within the stockade, but Cadillac, in order to foster industry, gave them the use of half-arpent spaces outside the enclosure for vegetable gardens. Many of the early colonists mingled freely with the Indians and, adopting their habits, became more like the aborigines than civilized men; for, as Cadillac says in one of his letters, "With wolves one learns to howl." It was the imperiousness of his rule, the influence of the church, and of the Canadian women, which kept the manners of early Detroit from utterly deteriorating into the roughness of a back-woods settlement, and moulded the customs of the old town.

In 1708 the settlers had begun to build houses outside the fort. The first child born here was Thérèse de Tonty, who was named for Madame Cadillac. In 1707 there were fourteen births; in 1708, fifteen.

In 1707 we find the commandant granting land to his interpreter, Jean Favart, and receiving the acknowledgment of faith and homage, with five livres seigneurial dues or rentals, and ten livres additional for the right to trade. The censitaire of those days agreed to help to plant a Maypole before the manor each year.

From Mr. Burton's invaluable brochure, "Detroit Under Cadillac," we learn that if the tenant did not wish to do this he was required to pay three livres in silver or an equivalent in peltries. He bound himself to have his grain ground at the public mill and to pay toll at eight livres for each minot. He could not sell or give his land in security without consent of Cadillac, and the seigneur had the first right of purchase. He had to furnish timber for vessels and fortifications when it was called for, and must need promise not to work as a blacksmith, cutler, armorer or brewer without special permit. He might import goods from Montreal or elsewhere, but was not allowed to employ clerks unless they were already colonists. In other words, he could not make contracts for foreign labor. He might hunt and fish, but was not to kill hares, rabbits, partridges or pheasants. Other conditions were that he should pay on St. Martin's day a tax of a certain number of fowl, dozens of eggs, or measures of grain for each arpent of his land that fronted on the river.

In addition to having their grain ground at Cadillac's mill, the habitants were required to have their bread baked by his baker. Dues and rents were paid in furs or in silver coin, when there was any. The settler, in taking up a grant, agreed to build a house on his concession within a year. Many of these enactments appear strange in this day of equal rights and liberty. In fact, it was not long before the colonists began to complain of the charges levied upon them; but "the prices derived by the commandant from his sales were really the prices

which the purchasers were willing to pay for the protection afforded by his government and by the palisades." The annual stipend paid by each tenant helped to keep the stockade in repair, to maintain the soldiery and to provide for De la Mothe and his family. The revenues thus derived were not sufficient to do all this, but he had another source of income in the trade of the post, and he was able to write with pride to Comte Pontchartrain, the colonial minister, that "in twelve months the colonists had put themselves in a position to do without provisions from Canada forever, and, from its foundation, the colony had not cost the King so much as a 'sou.'"

Warned by his troubles with the Jesuits of Michilimackinac because he permitted the sale of fire-water to the Indians, De La Mothe now kept control of the trade in brandy, and it was sold only by the "petit verre." But the wild grapes which grew abundantly upon the prairie paid no tribute to the seigneur, and of them Jean Baptiste made a light wine. We may infer, too, that the commandant reaped a fair profit from his brewery, to judge from the traditions of the many habitants who encountered that terrific apparition, the Red Dwarf, on the way home from social festivities.

While in public Madame Cadillac was lady of the manor, in domestic life she must have endured many privations. From Detroit's first directory we learn that at different times servants for her were brought from Montreal, but she had no light task in the ordering of her household and the care of her children, even though she had left two little daughters at school with the Ursuline Nuns at Quebec.

The French-Canadian is said to be by nature indolent. However this may be, the men and women of early Detroit were of necessity thrifty. Wild fruit, berries and nuts grew in the vicinity and the women busied themselves in conserving these for the winter. Some of the fruit was dried; some perhaps made into sweetmeats by being boiled in sugar obtained from the maple trees.

General Cass states in his memoirs that in his time the domestic loom was unknown at Detroit, but Mr. Bela Hubbard tells us that in the early days of the settlement the women made a coarse, homespun cotton cloth which they bartered to the Indians for pelts, venison and game.

Accustomed from childhood to the good example of the ladies of Quebec and Montreal, Mesdames Cadillac and De Tonty assisted Father Constantin in his work of religion and charity both within the stockade and among the surrounding villages of the savages, and we have record that they were wont to present to the Indian women garments they had made for them. Doubtless they also strove to teach them to sew, and to instruct them in other feminine industries.

The records of Ste. Anne's church are in themselves an epitome of the social life of old Detroit, with their story of births, marriages and deaths, and the glimpses of family joys, sorrows, and charities afforded by the marginal notes set down by the early curés. How much more might we have known concerning the first years of the settlement, but for the loss of the opening pages of this register in the fire of the autumn of 1703.

When Canadian women were few in the colony, Cadillac and the curé would fain have had the unmarried soldiers take Indian wives before the altar of Ste. Anne's, but the records show only one such marriage, that of Pierre Roy. The thoughts of the young men wandered back to the girls they had known in other days, and they returned to Montreal and Quebec for wives.

As for the recreations of the women at that period, there was the pious joyousness of preparation for the feasts of the church, the tranquil gayety of family fêtes, a pleasant intercourse with one another and, for Madame Cadillac, the rôle of queen of the festivities of the little town.

Albeit tempestuous, restless, overbearing and bitter against his opponents, the Chevalier de la Mothe Cadillac was not wanting in noble qualities. Ambitious for wealth and power, he held his honor as more precious than either, and was courageous, upright and loyal, a gallant figure in the annals of New France. To us it is given to see the realization of his dream—a great city upon the shore of the Detroit.

Madame Cadillac was a beautiful character; a woman strong in mind and heart; resourceful, brave, patient, self-sacrificing; a model wife and the devoted mother of thirteen children, six of whom were born in Detroit. That she was moreover a woman of rare good sense and an excellent manager, is proved by her care of her husband's possessions in his absence, and the ability wherewith she executed his commissions to buy stores for him when he was at Michilimackinac.

A fair and gracious example to the city's fair and gracious daughters was this first woman of Detroit.

Thus we see that in the first years of its existence, Detroit was a light-hearted little community which dearly loved a pageant of ceremony and a dance on the green before the house of the commandant, was ever prepared for an outbreak of the Indians, and ever ready to brighten its tasks with a holiday.

THE FRENCH REGIME.

By Richard R. Elliott.

It happens, perhaps appropriately that the selection of the writer, who is to outline the history of Detroit during the French Régime, as a part of the historical work of the Bi-Centenary exercises, should fall to me, who first saw the light of day, more than seventy-five years ago, in the ancient city of Quebec; from whence came the authority, the founder, the colonists in great part, and the civil and religious accompaniments, with the military support representing the power of far distant France, to establish the colony of Detroit 200 years ago. See note 6.

The closing days of the month of July, 1901, remind that the banner of Catholic France was raised for the first time, on the north shore of the strait, upon which is now the City of Detroit, two hundred years ago.

But before this event, the locality had been recognized as of strategic importance for the maintenance of French supremacy in the Northwest regions above.

To the English, it had been the impassable gateway of water communication from the East, by way of Lake Erie, to the fur-trading regions of lake and forest from Lake Huron, to and beyond Lake Superior; which regions had been exploited and controlled by the French traders, but which for years had been eagerly coveted by the English traders. To the French, the control of

the strait would secure a rear protection against hostile approach from the lower lakes, or from any attempt to enter Lake Huron by way of Lake Erie. A study of the map of the waterway between Lakes Erie and Huron will show the strategic importance of the strait between Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie. The French could reach Lake Huron from Canada by way of the Ottawa River, and by water and thirty portage communications, to the Georgian Bay; and this was the route usually taken by military and trading expeditions to Canada for nearly a century. In 1679 La Salle, in the "Griffon," who crossed Lake Erie and sailed up the strait, had on board his vessel, Fathers Hennepin, Membré and Ribourd, and the Chevallier Henry de Tonty, who in their respective narratives describe the natural beauty of the forest-lined shores, the beautiful birds and the abundance of game they saw, with much admiration. Charlevoix, in his seventeenth letter, written at Detroit forty-two years later, corroborates the descriptions of the scenery as given by La Salle and his passengers.

In 1693, the French Government had under consideration the advisability of establishing a fort to command the strait. Among the officers called upon to report upon this project was the Chevalier Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, who had been commandant of Michilimackinac and its dependencies. The memoir submitted by this young officer upon the status of the Western Lake Indian nations, and their political relations with the nations of the Iroquoian Confederacy of New York, whose extensive rule over the Indian nations between the Atlantic ocean and the head of Lake Erie was thoroughly understood

by the French Government, attracted attention in the cabinet of Louis XIV., and especially of the Count de Pontchartrain (the elder), Minister of the Marine and Colonies; not only for its comprehensiveness, but more particularly for the reasons assigned for constructing permanent works of defence at this strategic locality. He also advocated the planting of a colony of Frenchmen on the strait and the concentration in the vicinity of the proposed military post of all the Indian nations inhabiting the shores and islands of Lake Huron and Michigan, for permanent settlement; whose warriors, allied with the French would make a combined force which the English and their Iroquoian allies could not overcome. Definite action at the time on the part of the Government of France was probably deferred by the adverse influence of the monopolist Compagnie du Canada, controlling the trade of New France. In 1700, the Chevalier Cadillac went to France and explained his plans to Count de Pontchartrain.

He asked for a grant of land for his proposed colony, for one hundred soldiers and for as many more colonists, the necessary outfit for such an expedition and money for its support during the initial years of its establishment. In the meantime Louis Phelipeau, Count de Pontchartrain, who had for ten years been Minister of the Marine and Colonies in the cabinet of Louis XIV., in 1699, succeeded Boucherat as Chancellor.

His son, Jerome Phelipeau, Count de Pontchartrain, succeeded his father the same year as minister of the Marine and Colonies, and continued to hold his office until the death of the "Grand Monarch."

The Phelippeaus, father and son, were pious Catholics; the elder nobleman in 1714 retired to his castle at Pontchartrain, and spent the remainder of his days in prayer and devotion. Count Jerome became the patron of the colony of Detroit, and under his powerful protection it was saved from destruction by its greatest enemy, the Compagnie du Canada.

The Chevalier Cadillac received from Count Jerome Pontchartrain his commission as Governor, the grant of lands and an order on the Governor-General of New France for the men, money and stores; and, returning to Canada in 1701, commenced the organization of his initial expedition.

But de Calieres, the Governor-General, was unable to furnish more than fifty soldiers and the same number of artisans and farmers for colonists—in all, about half the number authorized by the French Government.

The expedition, which comprised twenty-five bark trading canoes, each with a capacity of four tons freight, left Trois Rivieres June 5, 1701, taking the route by the Ottawa River, and across, by rivers, lakes and portages, to the Georgian Bay. The portages were many, and to make them the freight was removed from the canoes, which were light enough to be carried on the shoulders of the voyageurs, while the freight was carried to the next navigable water on hand-sledges.

The expedition comprised the commandant, Chevalier Cadillac; Surgeon Henri Belisle, Captain Alphonse de Tonty, Lieutenants Dugue and Chaeornacle, the troops, colonists and the voyageurs. In the suite of the commandant were Father Le L'Halle, a Recollet, chaplain of

the expedition, and Father Vaillant, a Jesuit missionary, for service among the Lake Indians expected to join the colony. There had been no hostile Indians seen during the journey to the Georgian Bay. Had the route by way of Lake Erie been taken, the chances were that the Senecas would have captured the whole command, while those who would have escaped death would have been led captives to the Iroquoian cantons.*

The journey was accomplished without molestation by hostile Indians, or accident, in forty-four days. The banks on both sides of the river were high, a landing place was selected at the mouth of a small stream known in modern times as the Savoyard River, on both sides

*At this epoch, the Iroquoian Confederacy was in the plenitude of its powers, after two centuries of existence. It was lord and master over all the Indian nations existing on American soil between the head of Lake Erie and the Atlantic coasts; and between the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico.

Its home territory, called "The Country of the Lakes," included the Seneca, the Onondaga, the Oneida, the Cayuga Lakes and the Mohawk River. Certainly the most picturesque region in what is now the State of New York. In the native language it was called the "Long House," the custodian of whose "Western door" was the "First Fire," or the Seneca Nation; while the custody of its "Eastern door" was confided to the "Fifth Fire," or the Mohawk nation.

The Seneca fort and chief canton was at Canandaguia; while the home territory of the nation comprised all of Western New York, including the beautiful valley of the Genesee and the wild regions of Niagara.

The Seneca was the most numerous of the Iroquoian nations; it was a vigilant guardian of the "Western Door"; no craft was allowed to pass unchallenged to or from the vicinity of Niagara.

About 3,000 of this celebrated race of warriors are living on their reservation, about 10 miles from the City of Buffalo. If the reader is interested in American Indian affairs, as now existing, it will interest him to read "Report on the Indian Problem to the New York Assembly," 1889. 2 vols., pp. 1229 and 1242. There are about 5,500 survivors of the Iroquoian nations living at the present day in the State of New York; nearly as many more in Ontario, Canada, and 600 Oneidas near Green Bay, Wis.

of which the soil, level with the strait, was sandy. The whole party disembarked, the canoes having been hauled into the small stream, their freight removed, tents were pitched, and the expedition went into camp July 21, 1701. Cadillac had the standard of France unfurled from a mast and formally took possession of his domain.

The successful termination of the first move in this bold enterprise was highly creditable to its commander. Canada had at the time a population of only 2,000 souls; from its sparse settlements he had to select such men as his frontier experience seemed to indicate as reliable, who would share the dangers and chances of his expedition.

According to Rameau, an authority in the colonial history of Canada, it was a proof of his great personal influence that he succeeded in inducing so many to leave their homes and friends and follow him to a far distant wilderness in a journey of 600 miles in bark canoes, exposed to hostile attack; with the possibility that after its termination the whole command might be massacred before assistance from the nearest quarter in Canada might reach the scene.*

The site of the new post was located at the narrowest part of the river, on high ground. Four French acres were marked out for stockade enclosures, inside of which two hundred square feet were reserved for defensive works, and these were immediately commenced.

*Rameau. *Notes Historique sur la Colonie du Detroit, Montreal, etc.*

The fort was built of heavy square timber, laid as in mason work, with bastions, affording ample protection, and from its position on the bluff, with a small swivel gun on each bastion, could command every approach. It was named in honor of the patron of the colony, Fort Pontchartrain. The chapel built within the stockade enclosure was named in honor of Ste. Anne, on whose festival, July 26, 1701, it was commenced.

The dwellings for temporary use were all alike, and built of upright timber, simply cabins roofed with bark, and made habitable by the methods customary in frontier life.

"Here, then," says General Cass, "commences the history of Detroit, and with it the history of Michigan. How numerous and diversified are the incidents compressed within the period of its existence. No place in the United States presents such a series of events, interesting in themselves and permanently affecting, as they occurred, its progress and prosperity. Five times its flag has changed, three different sovereignties have claimed its allegiance, and since it has been held by the United States, its government has been thrice transferred; twice it has been besieged by the Indians, once captured in war, and once burned to the ground."

In pursuance of his plan of concentrating at Detroit the Indian nations living on the littorals and islands of Lakes Huron and Michigan, Cadillac sent messengers with belts of wampum to these natives, inviting their respective tribes to leave their bleak homes and to come down and settle at Detroit, where the climate was mild,

the soil fertile, game abundant, with an established post for trade and ample protection assured.

Thus in the outset of his career at Detroit, Cadillac placed himself in opposition to the Jesuit missionaries. His influence with the tribes was such that considerable numbers of the Hurons, the Ottawas, the Miamis, and the Pottawatomies abandoned their homes and came to the vicinity of Fort Pontchartrain.

In the meantime, after preliminary works for shelter and for protection had been completed, attention was given to the cultivation of the soil, as of primary importance. Cadillac and Father Constantin set the first example by having pieces of land outside the stockade cleared up and planted. To farmer colonists were assigned tracts of uniform size on the river front, and the married soldiers were encouraged to take land and clear it up for tillage. Advances of seed, implements and supplies were made from the allowance provided by the Government; and shelter within the stockade provided for all. The Indian settlements were located below the fort and the French above, in the direction of Lake St. Clair.

The difficulties attending farm work can hardly be imagined. There were no horses or cattle and the clearing of timber and preparation of the soil had to be done with the axe and spade—in other words, by hand-labor.

The chase and fisheries became valuable auxiliaries in the supply of good and wholesome food. There were during these initial months no white women in the colony.

Cadillac brought his oldest son and a nephew to Detroit, leaving his wife and three children at Quebec.

While still in camp an unexpected event occurred which seriously disturbed the equanimity of the Commandant. This was the sudden and unceremonious departure by the returning trading canoes, of Father Vail-lant, in obedience to the express orders of the Father Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec; sent it is presumed to the missionary by an Indian runner soon after the departure of the expedition from Trois Rivieres, who had reached the vicinity of the colony about the time of the landing of the expedition. The causes leading to this event will be explained later. Before resuming the narrative of the young colony, I desire to say that the Rev. Francis Vaillant de Gueslis was one of the most eminent of the Jesuit missionaries who had placed their lives in jeopardy in evangelizing the people of the tribes of the Iroquoian Confederacy. The summary of the status of this distinguished French priest is briefly given by me in note 3.*

*Rev. Francois Vaillant de Gueslis, S. J., or, as he was familiarly called, Father Vaillant, was, according to Tangay: "Répertoire Général du Clergé Canadien, par ordre chronologique, depuis la fondation de la Colonie," etc., ordained at Quebec, 1675.

Four years later he entered the Mohawk cantons as a missionary and remained with this warlike nation during four years, when, on account of British intrigues, the mission had to be abandoned and he was recalled to Quebec.

In 1687, he was appointed chaplain to Governor De Nonville's celebrated expedition, which marched through the Seneca country and laid it waste, in retribution for the Seneca raids against the French settlements on the St. Lawrence.

In 1688, he was appointed by the Governor General, special envoy to Governor Dongan at New York.

In 1701, he was appointed Indian missionary to accompany the expedition of Cadillac to found Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit, but was recalled to Quebec the same year. In 1703, he was sent as a missionary to the Seneca nation and served in their extensive country

Madam Cadillac placed her two daughters to be educated in the convent of Quebec. Madam de Tonty had also remained at Quebec; both ladies were determined to join their husbands. Madam Cadillac, taking her young son and Madam de Tonty with her, courageously left Quebec September 1, and joined a trading expedition, comprising two large canoes, destined for Detroit by way of Lake Erie.

A short stay was made at Fort Frontenac; there Father Vaillant, the Jesuit missionary, was met while on his way to Quebec; from this missionary was received the first intelligence of the safe arrival of the expedition under the command of Cadillac at its destination; both ladies soon after reached Detroit, having accomplished their fatiguing and hazardous journey without interruption or accident. Before winter the stockade was completed; the fort, chapel, storehouse and dwellings were surrounded by a circular road which was patrolled day and night by a guard. The strong gates of the stockade were closed at sunset, and strict military vigilance and discipline maintained.

The first winter in the new colony passed without any untoward event; the season's hunt with the Indians had been good; no hostiles had menaced the settlement, while the prospects for crops on the pieces of land under cultivation were favorable. Had Cadillac received that sup-

four years, when the Iroquoian missionary work was suspended on account of the machinations of its English opponents, aided by a liberal supply of rum.

These details are given by Dr. O'Callaghan, in his note on page 762, N. Y. Documentary History, vol. ix.

port from the colonial government which had been authorized by the crown, the success of his enterprise would never have been doubtful. But his project was secretly opposed from its start by a combination as incongruous as it was powerful, wielding such influence in New France that all outside of its sphere was of small account. The directors of the Compagnie du Canada in France and in Canada were decidedly opposed to the policy of the crown in founding a settlement on the strait, while the Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec did not look favorably on the project of concentrating there the Indian tribes of the Western lakes for permanent settlement. This would probably result in the depopulation of the missionary fields centering at Michilimackinac ; but, apparently, the success of the colony generally would seriously interfere with the working of the monopoly, and tend to decrease the enormous profits realized from the control of the fur trade in the lake regions.

In reference to the missions in the western regions, the glorious record of which can never be fully known, the Jesuit Fathers were the explorers and afterward the pioneers of civilization in these regions ; while the subsequent evangelization of the wild tribes was effected by the martyrdom of some of the most illustrious of their members.

No organization of men in New France at that period had a more thorough knowledge of the nature as well as of the instincts of the American Indian than had the Jesuits. There is no question of this fact ! Nor can it be denied either, that a jealous feeling had existed during

all the French regime in Canada in the minds of many brave and distinguished French officers and dignitaries, toward the Jesuit missionaries, excited by the fact that the military power of France had repeatedly failed to subdue the colony's worst enemies, the Iroquoians; while these saintly priests, with no other weapon than the crucifix, had penetrated the strongholds of the nations on the Mohawk and the sylvan regions of the inner lakes; had secured terms of peace by diplomacy; had made converts of their wise sachems and their fiercest warriors; had built chapels in their chief cantons, and had lived among this fierce race like brothers, loved, admired and respected by the wise sachems who governed this powerful confederacy, around their ancient council-fire at Onondaga, until their Christian fabric had been destroyed, and their harmonizing influence overthrown, by the devilish machinations and rum of their English enemies.

In their long experiences in the conversion of aboriginal communities in different parts of America, it had become evident that the near presence of a superior race to any community of Indians, whether Christian or pagan, became demoralizing to the latter race; while the closer such contact became, the more fatal the results which generally followed!

The motive of the opposition of the Jesuits to the displacement and removal of the lake tribes to the new colony on the Detroit for the purposes contemplated can be readily understood by any unprejudiced reader. Hence the recall of Father Vaillant.

The second power opposed to the plan of colonization directed by Cadillac, but not for humanitarian reasons,

nor for propagating the influence of Christianity among the Indians of the West and Northwest, was la Compagnie du Canada, or, as I shall call it for brevity, The Canada Company, which controlled the commerce of all New France. It was the custom of the court of France to farm out imposts and privileges; the exclusive right to trade with all the French colonies had been obtained by purchase or favoritism in 1637, and under its franchise was formed the Cent Associés, which company held the monopoly for 27 years, ceding its privileges in 1664 to the Compagnie des Indes, possessing still greater monopolistic, or, as we would say in our own times, "trust" privileges, with a large capital, and controlling in its maritime operations more than 100 vessels. This company of infamous memory leased its rights to trade with Canada in 1674, first to M. Oudiette, then to M. Rodez, and finally to Mr. Jean Pacaud; the latter was to pay 70,000 francs per year, and to establish a company for the working of its privileges, the stock of which was to be held in France, while a few shares, for form's sake, were to be owned in Canada. Under this arrangement Jean Pacaud organized the Canada Company, managed in Quebec by seven directors, residing in Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivieres. So great were its legal privileges that not a pound of castor could be sold within certain defined districts in Canada, except to its factors at a fixed rate, to be paid for in goods by the factor at such prices as he might exact.

Under such a "trust," protected by severe penal regulations, the Colony of Canada languished, while illicit fur-trading grew to such proportions that an army of

Coureurs de Bois in the West successfully defied the efforts of company or crown. At the close of the seventeenth century the fur trade probably yielded the greatest profits of any one kind of commercial enterprise in North America; but between the "trust" and the illicit traffic the officials of Canada, from the highest to the lowest, were said to have profited by ventures of one kind or another; while it is said that even the robes of the judiciary had been smirched by the corrupting contact of one or of both interests. This was the status of Canada at the time Cadillac founded the colony of Detroit. If the success of this enterprise was likely to break up the missions in the lake regions of the Lower Peninsula, of what now constitutes the State of Michigan, the Jesuit Fathers, in the light of Christianity and of humanity, cannot be blamed either in America or in Europe, for looking unfavorably upon the project.

If the success of the plans outlined by Cadillac, would, by their realization, and this seemed probable, interfere with the monopoly controlled by the "trust" in the traffic with the Indian tribes, who were to be removed to the vicinity of the new colony, the directors of the "trust" in Canada and the shareholders in France would probably endeavor to starve out the colony and to crush its founder.

Such, indeed, was the policy decided upon by the controlling interests of the "trust" in France.

No time was lost in showing their hands. In October, 1701, four months after Cadillac's departure from Trois Rivieres, Governor-General de Calieres, at Quebec, was notified that it was the king's command that the posts

at Detroit and Frontenac were to be placed in charge of the Canada Company, who, for the monopoly of the fur trade granted, were to indemnify the government for the outlay already made in establishing the posts, and to assume and pay all the allowances granted for their future maintenance during the term of their control. The Governor was further instructed to convene a council of the notables of Canada, and of the directors of the company, to arrange the details of the transfer. This council was held at the Chateau of St. Louis in Quebec October 31, 1701.

By the terms arranged and certified by the Royal Notary, while the military tenure of the Crown remained vested in the commander of the post at Detroit, he was forbidden, under severe penalties, to take any part in its trade or commerce, which was to be under the exclusive control of the company's factors, virtually leaving him only the command of a small garrison, and making the company lord of the whole domain. It is doubtful if this was intended by the King, or if the treaty, as it was called, received the royal sanction.

This is the opinion of Judge Campbell, author of "Outlines of the Political History of Michigan."

All important as the council which thus decided was to Cadillac, and to the future of his colony at Detroit, he was neither present nor was he represented by counsel.

It was adroitly intended to destroy the influence of Cadillac with the Indian tribes, who would soon see that he was no longer lord and master over all. Of what consequence in their eyes would be the governor of the post,

and the commander of a guard of soldiers, when he no longer controlled the treasures of the storehouse which were all-important to them?

On July 18, 1702, the first convoy of the season from Canada reached Detroit with official despatches from the Governor-General, by which Cadillac was first notified of the "treaty" of Quebec, and the conditions under which the post had been ceded to the "trust," whose three factors, or commissioners, had been sent to assume control. He was further instructed to make such arrangement with the factors as would conform to the terms of the "treaty" and his own rights as military commander, and to turn over to the new power the property of the government then under his charge. Here commenced the rule of the "trust" at Detroit, a source of great annoyance to its founder and a serious menace to the existence of the colony itself. Cadillac arranged the transfer of control in conformity with his instructions; and, convinced that a serious combination had been formed to thwart the realization of his plans, returned with the convoy to Quebec, where, with the aid and counsel of his friends, he succeeded in having modified to some extent the iron-clad regulations by which his personal interest had been bound, and returned to his colony in October determined to foil, in some way, the designs of his opponents.

The result of his influence with the Lake tribes had brought to the vicinity of the post an aggregate Indian population of about 2,000 souls. The control of so large a number of Indians of different tribes, with barbaric instincts so easily excited for revenge and carnage, be-

came a task of much difficulty to Cadillac, and required, at times, great tact and firmness to quell the discord arising from tribe jealousies; besides, there was no missionary laboring as such at the post. In the meantime the relations between Cadillac and the missionaries at Michilimackinac had become unfriendly. (See the letters of the Jesuit Fathers Marest and de Carheil, in Margry, Vol. V., 205-215.) Although the harvest of 1703 was good, the year did not pass without a serious disaster; an unknown enemy succeeded in setting fire to the well-stocked granary, which, with the church, the little presbytery, the houses of Cadillac and of de Tonty, were consumed. The Huron and other Indians, however, generously presented Cadillac with 300 bushels of grain, and continued to supply all the corn and provisions required for the use of the post at current prices.

Another serious danger was averted during the following year. A hostile tribe, probably incited by English emissaries, attacked the Indians in the vicinity and killed several in one of their raids. A general outbreak of Indian war was the intended object, and this would have followed had not Cadillac forced the marauding tribe to recompense the families of the slain and to return to their homes. So far, under the new regime, the little colony had progressed; more land had been cultivated, the crops had been good, and no serious illness or deaths had occurred among the French population.

The same year Cadillac renewed his request to the Governor-General for colonists and soldiers, and offered to provide for the transportation of horses and horned cattle for farming purposes.

Receiving no encouragement from the Colonial Government, he wrote to Count de Pontchartrain, explaining his situation, asking to be relieved of the incubus of the "trust," and for greater jurisdiction.

About this time Canada suffered the loss of Governor-General de Callieres, whose untimely death deprived France of a just and faithful representative, and the colonists of Canada of an impartial ruler. His successor was the Marquis de Vaudreuil; this clever nobleman was related to the wealthy directors of the "trust" in Quebec, and was probably more or less under their influence. Before Cadillac became aware of these important changes he had detected two of the factors of the "trust" in illicit ventures and in dishonest operations to the prejudice of their principals.

Procuring certified evidence of their guilt, he preferred charges to the Intendant-General at Quebec. The delinquents were closely related to Lotbiniere and Delino, two of the richest directors of the trust; de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, was a nephew of Lotbiniere, and closely related to the accused. Cadillac was aware of this relationship on all sides. His temerity, under the circumstances, in exposing such a scandal in the circles of the most wealthy and influential families in Quebec, is difficult to understand. It cost him dearly, however! His ruin was determined upon for the disgrace brought upon the distinguished families. Serious charges were filed against him in the highest court in Canada, and copies of these charges, highly colored, were sent to France.

Upon their reception, de Pontchartrain induced Louis XIV. to instruct de Vaudreuil to convene a council at Quebec for inquiry into the condition of the colony at Detroit, before which Cadillac was to be asked to appear, to explain his own conduct and the state of affairs at his post. This did not suit the "trust."

The council was convened, but Cadillac was not notified; its sessions were secret, while his friends were rigidly excluded.

Its conclusions as sent to France were so adroitly worded as to compromise the accused commandant, whose contempt of the royal command might be implied by his non-attendance.

This was a bold and an unscrupulous design to ruin him at the French court.

Meanwhile, preparations for his complete destruction were in progress at Quebec.

Unaware of these proceedings, and anxious to provide for the pressing needs of his colony, Cadillac started for Quebec by the returning convoy in the fall of 1704. On his way he was informed of the death of de Calieres and the accession of de Vaudreuil. On his arrival he was arrested on charges preferred by the directors of the "trust," officially, as referred to above. He secured the appointment of Captain Bourgmont as his deputy at Detroit, and sent him to the post with necessary supplies. The litigation against Cadillac which ensued was prolonged and expensive. His acquittal resulted in June, 1705, but he was not allowed to return to Detroit; he was again arrested at the personal suits of Lotbiniere and Delino. In the meantime he had appealed to the King against the

entire proceedings at Quebec as illegal, on the part of a court in Canada, against the governor of a post under regal commission.

The appeal was sustained. The Count de Pontchartrain had, in the meantime, been advised of the plot to ruin Cadillac, and took prompt measures to punish his enemies.

Governor-General de Vaudreuil narrowly escaped disgrace and removal, but he was severely reprimanded. The "trust" was removed from the post and colony of Detroit.

To Cadillac was granted the seigneurie of the colony with additional territorial domain and exclusive jurisdiction, while the colonial authorities were instructed to give him 200 soldiers and as many colonists as he might need. (See New York Colonial Documents, Vol. IV., p. 777; and de Pontchartrain's letter in Margry, Vol. V., 348.)

Thanks to the influence of Count de Pontchartrain, the founder of the colony of Detroit was once more covered with royal protection and master of the situation; Before his return he secured additional soldiers for his garrison and induced a number of artisans and colonists to accompany him to Detroit. A small number of much-needed cattle were sent forward in batteaux. French wheat for seed to the extent of two tons, and the machinery for a large grist-mill, were purchased and shipped at considerable personal outlay. His efforts, however, to procure Sisters of Charity, for the care of the sick and for the education of the youth of the French and Indian population, did not meet with success.

Upon his return to Detroit he found Captain Bourgmont in temporary command; but the establishment was so badly demoralized that his worst enemies would have been satisfied with the situation. The garrison had been reduced, while the soldiers had received neither pay nor clothing for three years from the "trust." Some of the colonists had become discouraged and had left the post.

A war party of Indians from Lake Michigan came down ostensibly to attack the friendly Miamas, but with the expectation of plundering the French. They encamped in the vicinity, menaced the fort, raided the Indian villages, damaged the crops, killed several of the Miamis, and marauded for some time before they were finally driven off by the combined forces of the French and Indians.

The coup de grace of all this misery was the cowardly murder of the chaplain, Father Constantin, while walking in his garden, by a lurking Indian assassin.*

*Father Bernardin Constantin De L'Halle. Recollet.

I have seen no authentic account of the nativity, the education, or of the date of the ordination of this venerable monk.

His name indicates that he was of French lineage, and like others of his order at the time, of gentle blood.

He had probably, like other young Frenchmen of his time, been inspired with a vocation for the sacerdotal state; and after his theological course, and his ordination to the priesthood he had joined the Recollet order with the intention of serving as a missionary among the Indians in Canada.

He came to Quebec in 1696, but his age at the time is not stated.

He officiated at Longueil in 1698, and at the Church of St. Francis de Sales Laval Co., when he was selected by the Father Superior of the Recollets at Quebec, to act as chaplain to the expedition of Cadillac.

The parochial records of St. Anne's church of Detroit contains the written testimony of two of his successors, who, when placing on record the ceremony of the translation of the remains of this venerable missionary from an old to a new church, on two occasions,

The prestige of the French over the Indians had been weakened; among the chiefs a state of sullen dissatisfaction prevailed. The tribes who had suffered most from the late aggressions, clamored for vengeance and recompense, and seemed determined to obtain both in the customary manner of their race.

This would bring on a general Indian war, which might seriously affect the future of the colony and the plan of Indian centralization.

The situation in this respect was critical. Cadillac's influence, however, was sufficiently strong with the disaffected chiefs to induce them to rely upon the Governor-General of Canada for redress, and to await his action.

Governor de Vaudreuil ordered the chiefs of the marauding tribes to appear before him at Quebec, and these crafty diplomats were finally made to promise to meet Cadillac at Detroit and settle the mode of atonement.

Upon their arrival at the post several councils were held, and a formal agreement was made to surrender the chief, Le Pesant, who was the leader of the raid, for execution, to make reparation to the families of the slain, and payment for damages to both colonists and Indians.

refer to the miracles known to have been wrought through his intercession. On the occasion of the first of these translations, the remains of Father De L'Halle were indentified by the penitential hair shirt which he had worn next his person, and by his calotte, which was in a good state of preservation.

I am indebted to Tanguay for the dates prior to his departure with the expedition of Cadillac. It will be seen that the Bishop of Quebec selected for the religious interests of the new colony distinguished members of two of the most eminent religious orders in Canada at that period.

Le Pesant was brought to Detroit and placed in irons, preparatory to his execution. The Miamas and Hurons were placated and the danger seemingly averted. High influence, however, was brought to bear on the Governor-General in behalf of the doomed chief, and despite the protests of Cadillac, after some months' delay he was permitted to escape. This was the result of no friendly interference, and the consequences were serious. The Miami chiefs were furious; they accused the Governor-General of insincerity, and Cadillac of cowardice. According to the Indian code, no debt was held more sacred than vengeance for kindred slain by an enemy in peace or in war, and he who would not risk his life in its acquittal could have no standing in the tribe.

Hostilities ensued. Several Frenchmen were wounded, and their holdings outside the stockade depredated. The offending Miamis were promptly punished by Cadillac and made to sue for peace.

The conditions agreed upon were soon after violated, and the offenders were again more severely punished, and peace once more restored. But the fact was but too apparent that the situation was not assuring; the French were surrounded by a population of Indians largely preponderating in numbers, who were once reliable friends, but many of whom had, for the time being, forgotten their better instincts, and had become sullen, if not treacherous neighbors.

Thus was the progress of the colony more or less retarded by events arising from opposing influences and growing out of the forced detention of its founder during the two years of his litigation in Quebec. About

this time the Jesuit Fathers abandoned their missionary work at Michilimackinac and returned to their headquarters at Quebec. Much correspondence resulted from this event which will be found by the reader interested, as also the King's instructions, in re to Governor-General de Vaudreuil, in Margry, Vol. V.

Much time was consumed in councils, the details of which are tedious to readers at the present day, before a peaceful status with the Indians was secured. The Indian settlements comprised the Ottawas, whose fort and village had been located by Cadillac on the south side of the strait, on the high bluff, opposite the western end of the island subsequently called by the French Isle aux Cochons, but known in modern times as Belle Isle. The Hurons, Miamis and Potawatomies had their respective villages and strongholds located on the shore below the fort, extending as far down the stream as the present city of Wyandotte.

The women of the respective nations cultivated the fertile soil, and generally raised abundant crops of grain and vegetables, the surplus of which was either stored in the granaries adjoining their forts, or sold at current prices for barter at the post. The warriors, each autumn and winter, went upon their hunting expeditions to distant localities, and returned at the end of the season with the spoils of the chase, which were bartered at the end of the season with the spoils of the chase, which were bartered at the post. The sale of "eau de vie" to the Indians, as regulated by Cadillac, was confined to the storehouse, and limited to a gill, at a fixed price, at a certain hour each morning and evening. The purchasers were

formed in line on these occasions, which at times included hundreds. A drunken Indian was rarely seen while the salutary regulation prevailed.

It was part of Cadillac's plan to have the Indian children taught the French language and the useful arts; this, however, was frustrated by his failure to procure Sisters of Charity as teachers. He had also intended enrolling the warriors of the respective tribes into companies, having them officered, drilled and regularly paid as French auxiliary soldiers; although approved in France, the plan was opposed in Canada and never carried into effect.

Military discipline seemed incompatible with the instincts, the freedom, as well as the habits of an Indian hunter; Cadillac himself may have found the plan impracticable. Every effort was now made to encourage settlement and the tillage of the soil. Cadillac made frequent visits to Canada to recruit and returned with more or less permanent settlers who brought their families. It has been stated, on the authority of his oldest son, that during the latter years of his time as Governor of Detroit, he expended from his personal fortune upwards of 150,000 livres in purchases and transportation for his colony. No longer hampered by the "trust" he opened the post to general traffic, collecting a moderate fee for each license for two trade canoes, whose capacity as formerly stated, was about four tons of freight each. His regulations prohibiting the sale of "eau de vie" to the Indians by traders was strictly enforced. I have already described the manner in which "fire water" was dispensed to the Indians at the storehouse. With the

machinery purchased in Canada a mill was built outside the stockade, a new church, presbytery, storehouse and more comfortable dwellings had already replaced the original buildings within. Under his seignorial rights he made grants of land to bona fide settlers, subject to reasonable rent and conditions; 29 farms had been located and partly cultivated, and on some of these comfortable dwellings had been built. Thus far the harvests had proved profitable, and some surplus grain had been sold. In the meantime the regular soldiers had been withdrawn, while the expense of and maintenance of the post and colony had been assumed by Cadillac.

Such was the status of affairs about the close of the first decade in the existence of the colony. In spite of the opposition to it, ostensibly directed against its founder, and which at times had been most disheartening, after it had been solidly established; while its prosperity seemed assured. The history of North American colonization offers few, if any, parallels to the adventures of the Chevalier de La Mothe Cadillac in establishing a colony in a region so exposed, and in a locality so far distant from parental support. It may be claimed, and justly, that the success of its founder dwarfs any achievement of its kind in colonial history. Certainly no record exists where intrigue and opposition were carried so far, or continued so persistently, as was the effort to ruin both colony and founder. It was a proof of the ability and sagacity of Cadillac that he succeeded in retaining the friendship and the support of the Count de Pontchartrain, in spite of so much calumny and misrepresentation, and it may be added, notwithstanding the

imprudent nature of his own communications and the unfounded accusations he was accustomed to make against some of the most venerable of the missionary Fathers of the Society of Jesus, whom he accused of all kinds of evil designs against himself and the colony of Detroit. Fortunately there was generally present in the cabinet councils of Louis XIV., the father confessor of this monarch, the Jesuit, Pere La Chaise, whose advice counteracted the venomous effusions of the Chevalier. The fact, too, that Cadillac was a Gascon, a plausible pleader, not over-scrupulous in truthfulness, while regardless of the patience of the King and of the ministers of his cabinet, is evident by the number and great length of his communications to the Government of France, now on file in the archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris. The sessions of this cabinet of Louis XIV. were laborious, while the notations on the margins of all the "Cadillac papers" show they had been read, discussed and judged; while frequently the marginal comments are by no means creditable to the general status of the estimation in which the founder of the colony of Detroit was held in the minds of Louis le Grand, and of some of his ministers.

But in these memorable sessions the Chevalier had for support the young patron of the colony of Detroit, the Count Jerome de Pontchartrain. It had been officially reported to the King that the soil of Detroit was not fertile, while the climate was such that no Frenchman could endure. These were lies formulated at the time in the interests of the "trust." The Frenchmen who

came with Cadillac, and many others who came during his time to Detroit, tilled the fertile soil under such disadvantages as would discourage farmer settlers at the present day.

But notwithstanding their primitive implements, and of the absence of horses' as well as of horned cattle, their hand labor was, as a rule, rewarded with compensating harvests.

Their wants were simple, while they were a God-fearing, a courageous as well as a moral race of men. In time they built comfortable homes, they reared large families, and lived to a patriarchal age. Many of their descendants still occupy the holdings originally cultivated by their ancestral sires. The reader may consult the original sources of information in this connection in N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. VIII., p. 827; Judge Campbell's "Historical Outlines," page 68, and Margry—5, page 682.

But the founder of the colony of Detroit was not destined to enjoy the well-earned results of his heroic fight and of his victory over the wealthy and influential opponents of himself and of the colony he had planted; nor to enjoy the honors as well as the emoluments of his seignory; nor, when he had reached the close of a patriarchal career, to transmit his titles and succession to his posterity. Toward the close of the first decennary period, when the colony had become satisfactory to the Chevalier Cadillac, his King honored him with a position offering a broader field for the display of his ability and of his experience, and apparently of greater political

importance, while requiring greater executive ability than did the custodianship of the lower gateway of the waters of the Western lakes.*

*In many respects, Quebec remains unchanged from colonial times. Its topographical outlines seem fixed. Its steep and narrow streets in some quarters are still a familiar feature; its rocky fortress dominates the ensemble, while its lower town, which 60 years ago swarmed with seamen from every commercial nation, reminds of the time when this old city on the St. Lawrence was the chief commercial port of North America.

In many respects its social features have changed but little. The majority of its people speak the same language, retain the same customs and adhere to the same religion their ancestors did 140 years ago, when Canada fell under the dominion of England. There is still the same preponderance of handsome women, and the same large proportion of families who live in comfort upon adequate fortunes; which has made the society of this ancient city exceptionally refined; while other cities in America in this respect were in a formative state. There is still the same preponderance of convents and cloisters of churches and devotees, which gives it the semblance of a Catholic city.

Can you recall any city in North America where in winter the snow falls in such quantity as to hide the doors and windows of the *rez de chausée* of dwellings, requiring carts and laborers to remove it, to give ingress and egress?

Can you mention any town or city of importance, comparatively speaking, where the baker making his daily rounds in his cariole or wagon, to deliver his loaves, and no family bakes their bread, charges his customers, according to the number delivered, by cutting notches on the straight edges of a stick two feet long and an inch square, on which is the name of the family, and which he tallies up at the end of each month; and in like manner, the "milk man;" when leaving his pints or quarts, or his measure of cream, keeps his tally as does the baker? Can you tell me if the custom prevails outside of this old-fashioned city, where buying from a butcher a roast, a steak or a leg-of-mutton, the latter throws onto the scales a piece of bone for which you have to pay proportionate to the extent of your purchase?

But for all these reminders of Colonial times, Quebec before the conquest was a great literary center in North America; while it is perhaps the focus of literature in French America at the present day.

It is the seat of a great university—Laval. Rome honored its Archbishop, Taschereau, with a Cardinal's hat its hierarchy is and has been learned and eminent; while some of Canada's most celebrated literateurs, some of her most distinguished statesmen and financiers compose the circles of its literary life at the present day.

That portion of New France, known as Louisiana, was to be opened more generally to settlement and to civilization. This territory was almost boundless. Extending from what is now New Orleans—and from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico—embracing the Mississippi valley, it ranged over prairies and mountains, rivers and forests to the shores of the Pacific ocean. It was perhaps considered at the time a great promotion for the Commandant of Detroit. But I have long considered this appointment to have been the result of adverse influence covering a desire to get him removed from Detroit. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that Governor-General de Vaudreuil communicated to the Chevalier the news of his appointment, but made his departure peremptory and inhibited him from coming to Quebec, indicating the route he was to take. He was appointed in 1710 Governor of Louisiana; the same year he bade adieu to his little colony on the Detroit, which he was destined never to see again, and departed with his family for the scene of his future career.

With the exit of Cadillac, it is proper to refer to the two great interests which, from the outset, were opposed to the colonization of Detroit—each of which, it must be understood by the reader, were actuated by entirely

Its social system is unique on American soil; for nowhere else can be found so many distinguished families who can trace their ancestry back to the Crusaders. In the history of collegiate education, Quebec claims the honor of having founded the first collegiate institution in North America—the College of Quebec, whose establishment antedates that of Harvard by some years. From the portals of this renowned institution during a century or more, went forth the great missionaries and explorers, including Marquette, to whom this country is so much indebted.

different motives; the one sordid, the other humanitarian. We have become familiar in our own days with the operations of "trusts."

But words cannot describe the evils resulting from the sway of La Compagnie du Canada. The chartered monopolists of the fur trade were apparently the most unprincipled leeches which could have been fastened upon the vitals of a young country.

The paralyzing effects of their control over the commerce and trade, affecting at the same time the agricultural interests and the moral status of the colonists of Canada, may be traced all through the history of the administration of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and can be easiest studied in the reports of the annual census which were sent to France. These reports will be found translated in "Paris Documents," Vol. 9 of the "Documentary History of New York."

It is due to the memory of the people of Canada, of that epoch, to say that they opposed this monopoly, and finally induced the Government of France to depose the colossal incubus, which was slowly crushing out the life of its empire in the new world; after this Canada gradually improved in population, in morality, in agriculture, and in commerce.

How different was the motive which had prompted the opposition of the Jesuits to the plans of Cadillac? As has been stated, a colony of Frenchmen was to be established at Detroit, around which were to be gathered for permanent habitation the tribes of Indians dwelling on the littorals and islands of the lakes at the time under the spiritual care of the Jesuit missionaries, whose

headquarters were at Michilimackinac, one of the oldest missionary centers in the Northwest.

The Government of France favored the plan in the hope that a barrier might be raised against the inroads of the Iroquoian warriors of New York, or of other enemies seeking to control the western regions; it was intended that the missionaries should accompany the tribes in their hegira, and continue their pastoral relations in their new homes. However promising in results, from the standpoint in France, the project was looked upon unfavorably by the missionaries in spiritual charge, and by their superior in Canada. The success of the plan would break up and possibly destroy the matured system of missionary work which had required so many years to perfect; transfer the theatre of its operations to a post whose commander, in previous years, had been unfriendly; with the prospect that the Indians could not be controlled in the near vicinity of the French colony, while the lapse to debauchery and paganism of many Christian families would probably ensue. The removal of the tribes in the vicinity of Michilimackinac to Detroit was, as stated, followed by the temporary breaking up of that missionary center and the return of the fathers to Quebec.

But what of the Indian colony? Instead of serving its intended purpose, it became a danger and a menace to the French colonists; with the changes of dynasty which affected Canada, the unfortunate tribes shared the common destiny which befell their race and disappeared from the soil, which has since been occupied by races of white men.

It occurs to me to complete the social history of the Cadillac decennial period, with the aid of the results obtained by Clarence M. Burton. In order to trace thoroughly the history of the ownership of every recorded piece or parcel of property in the County of Wayne, this gentleman has found it necessary to connect his researches with the genealogy of the colonial families holding original grants or titles. This he has been enabled to accomplish to a great extent, by the parochial records of the Catholic parish of Ste. Anne of Detroit, and of the parish of the Assumption, at Sandwich, Ontario. Collateral evidence he also obtained by aid of the notarial records of colonial times, on file, in Quebec, Montreal, and Trois Rivieres. The old French code required each church to have a register in which the officiating priest recorded the acts or civil part of the ceremonies of baptism, marriages and of funeral rites which must contain the name of the recipient of the sacrament; of the parents, with their condition, title, and residence; of the witnesses, who subscribe to the acts, which then received the attestation of the officiating priest. Marriages are similarly recorded, while an act also goes on record with the administration of burial rites.

To obtain accurate data, Mr. Burton employed copyists and had the registers of Ste. Anne at Detroit, and of the Assumption at Sandwich copied verbatim et literatim. That of Ste. Anne, covering two centuries of Catholic parochial administration, is probably the most remarkable local history of Detroit in a religious point of view extant. While in American Catholic history there

is no such continuous record in any existing Catholic parish under the hierarchical control of Baltimore.

To furnish collateral information regarding the colonists and settlers at Detroit during the French regime, Mr. Burton went to the expense of having the notarial archives of Quebec, Montreal, and of Trois Rivieres examined; and all copies of contracts in which Detroit or its dependencies are mentioned, on file in such depositaries, he has had copied verbatim et literatim and he had the sheets sent to him at Detroit. These transcripts, local as well as Canadian, have been arranged in series, bound, labelled, numbered and indexed. But in addition he has had transcripts made of all documents in the archives of the Marine and Colonies in Paris, which have recently been classified and indexed, and are now accessible, relating to Detroit, while a colony of France, copied, attested and sent to him at Detroit. He has also had the catalogues of the British Museum examined and any document found, in which Detroit is interested, he has had copied. These transcripts have been bound. Mr. Burton's library of manuscripts is most extensive, it is probably unsurpassed by any manuscript collection in the United States, while it has been so arranged as to be available for reference. Its collection has cost its owner over \$50,000; but this is only one feature in Mr. Burton's library, which is one of the most unique and extensive collections of historical Americana, but more particularly in printed works in any way connected with the history of Detroit, of Michigan, and of the Northwest Territory.

While General Cass was minister at the Court of Louis Philippe, Pierre Margry was employed by John Romeyn Brodhead, on behalf of the State of New York, to copy such documents in the archives of the Marine and Colonies as related to the colonial history of New York.

Mr. Margry offered his services, and was employed by the general, to transcribe documents relating to the French regime at Detroit. Those which he furnished related principally to Cadillac, and were generally unimportant. It is the opinion of some who were interested in the colonial history of Detroit, that Margry purposely withheld several important documents, which he subsequently published under his own name, under the title of "Decouvertes," etc., 7 octavo volumes, for which he was partially compensated at Washington. This work, however, made for Pierre Margry a prominent place as a historian of French America, while his work is freely quoted.

When General Cass returned to Detroit, he placed Margry's transcripts at the service of historical students, among whom were Bela Hubbard, Mrs. Sheldon, and Judge James V. Campbell, each of whom have contributed works on local history. The first in this connection was Mrs. Sheldon, whose "Early History of Michigan" is not very creditable to the literary reputation of its fair author. The "Cadillac Papers," as they were called, which had been brought to Detroit, as stated, by General Cass, were poorly translated, and with the brief text of the author formed the ensemble of the work. One of the longest chapters, comprising 34 pages, is a

translation of Cadillac's account of his vindication before the Count de Pontchartrain at the Chateau of St. Louis at Quebec.

According to Cadillac, the Count had come to Quebec to investigate the charges made against the founder of the colony at Detroit, by the directors of the "trust." The Count recited the accusations in detail and called upon the Chevalier to defend himself.

The latter then recited the history of the colony and aired his complaints against the Jesuit Fathers, in scurilous language.

But these were personal accusations, unsupported by corroborative evidence.

His accusations against the agents of the "trust" were supported by positive evidence.

His defense, he claims, was so satisfactory to the Count de Pontchartrain, that he exonerated the Chevalier from the charges, and restored him to the control of the colony of Detroit.

This is the showing made by Cadillac in this lengthy document, which implied that his accusations against the Jesuit Fathers had been accepted as true by the Count de Pontchartrain, who, after the interview, had returned to France.

Sheldon's work was generally accepted at the time as authentic; and the visit of the Count de Pontchartrain, as stated, accepted as a historical fact by many writers, including Judge James V. Campbell, of this city, author of that charming work, "Outlines of the Political History of Michigan," in which work this amiable and Christian gentleman scores Cadillac for his slanderous remarks

against the saintly Jesuit Fathers, de Carbell and Marest, missionaries at Michilimackinac. In the interest of authentic history I consulted with Dr. John Gilmary Shea, in regard to the coming to America of the Count de Pontchartrain, minister of the Marine and Colonies of France. Dr. Shea assured me that the story was fictitious, and he advised me not to accept any of the Cadillac papers as reliable history, unless supported by collateral evidence.

At this time, my friend and collaborator, Bela Hubbard, author of "Memorials of Half a Century," was in Italy. I wrote to him, explaining the situation, and asked him to propose the question to Margry, who had, in the meantime, become an authority on French American colonial history: did the Count de Pontchartrain, as asserted by Cadillac, ever come to Quebec?" Margry replied that the Count had never gone to America. This reply settled the question; but it established the fact, that if Cadillac could "lie like a Gascon," in such a case, he could not be relied upon in questions of history.

It will be remembered that Father Vaillant had been recalled to Quebec, while Cadillac's expedition was still in camp. Cadillac, in his defense, at the pretended interview with the Count de Pontchartrain, speaks of Father Vaillant in a scurrilous manner; accuses him of having been detected in plotting a mutiny among his retinue, and of his having been expelled from the camp; of his taking refuge in the forest, and of his surreptitious escape on a homeward-bound canoe. It is needless to state that this, as well as other calumnious assertions made by Cadillac against the Jesuit missionary Fathers

in this document, are gross fabrications; although considered as such in the cabinet of Louis XIV., they have been received as gospel truth by credulous people in Detroit; even such well-informed men as Clarence M. Burton have in our own times reiterated Cadillac's vituperative assertions against such distinguished missionaries as Fathers de Carbell, Marest, Vaillant, and others connected with the evangelization of the American Indian race.

Mrs. Sheldon's production and so-called "early history" was exposed in my brochure entitled "Genesis of the French History of Detroit," written in 1890.

All the transcripts obtained by Margry, of which reference has been made above, were subsequently presented to me by General Cass, through his private secretary, the late Colonel Richard F. O'Biorne, U. S. A.

Some of them were cleverly translated by Miss M. A. Brennan, subsequently Mrs. James O'Brien, and published in the Catholic Vindicator in 1855. For this literary work the fair translator received a complimentary letter of thanks from the historian, Dr. John Gilmary Shea.

After these essential discussions in explanation of the reliable sources from which the history of the first decennial period in the existence of Detroit may be drawn, I shall now attempt an outline of the social composition of the colony, when its founder was made Governor of Louisiana.

The garrison of Fort Pontchartrain, taking as an average period in the first decade of the existence of the

colony of Detroit, say, 1708, comprised the commandant, the Chevalier Cadillac; Major, Louis Rene de Figuier; Surgeon, Dr. Henri Belisle; Captains, Francois de La Forest and Alphonse de Tonty; Lieutenants, Julien D'Ervisseau and Francois Le Gautier: four sergeants, two corporals and twenty-five or more privates, most of whom had taken land and had become permanent residents of the colony. No account is taken of the officers and soldiers who had come with the original expedition and who had been transferred elsewhere.

The families of the commandant, of the officers mentioned, besides Mlle. Le Tendre and other young ladies, comprised the social circle of the elite of Detroit at the time. All were of the French race except Captain de Tonty, who was an Italian. The religious head of the colony was the Recollet pastor of Ste. Anne's who had succeeded his predecessor, the martyred Recollet, Father Constantin De L'Halle, who had been killed by a hostile Indian's bullet in 1706.

Omitting the transient population comprising Coureurs de Bois, voyageurs, trappers, slaves and other servants, and not including the commandant, the officers and soldiers of the garrison, the male population comprised: Aquet-Laporte, Guillaume, Beauregard, Antoine,; Bienvenue-de Lisle, Francois; Bombardier, Andre; Bonne, Francois; Bouche, Francois; Bouette-Delliarde, Guillaume; Bousseron, Francois; Boutron, Major, Etienne; Brunet, Francois; Campeau, Jacques; Campeau, Michel; Cardinal, Jacques; Carriere, Antoine; Casse-St. Aubin, Jean; Chantelon, Pierre; Charbonneau, Joseph; Charbonneau, Michel; Chesne, Pierre; Chevalir,

Jean; Chornie, Jean Baptiste; Chorret-Camerand, Andre; Compian-L'Esperance, Bonaventure; Coutant, Jean; D'Argenteuil, Louis; Dardennes, Toussaint; De Lorme, Francois; De Marsac-des Rochers, Jacob; De Rance, Michel; Despre, Joseph; Des Ruisseau, Julien; Destorins,, Louis; Dizier, Michel; Du Figuier, Charles; Du Fresne, Antoine; Du Moulin, Jacques; Dupuis-Beauregard, Antoine; Durant, Jean; Du Roy, Pierre; Du Vestrin, Solomon Joseph; Esteve, Pierre; Fafard-de Lorme, Francois; Ferron, Antoine; Germain, Robert; Gorion, Baptiste; Guillet, Paul; Gustineau, Louis; Hemard, Pierre (according to Fr. Dennisen, this should be Aymard); Hubert, Jacques; Jardis, Francois; Labatier-Champagne, Jean; La Fleur, Pierre; Laloire, Jean; La Montagne-Mouet, Pierre; Langlois, Jacques; Langlois, Paul; Larrame, Louis; La Plante, Zacaerie; Leger-Parissien, Louis; Le Moyne, Alexis; Le Moyne, Jacques; Le Moyne, Rene; Le Soeure, Jean; Magnant, Antoine; Maillet, Pierre; Marliarde, Jerome; Margne, Francois; Masse, Francois; Masse, Michel; Normand, Louis; Paquet, Jean; Parent, Joseph; Peltier, Jean Francois; Porrier, Pierre; Reinard, Joseph; Rencontre, Louis; Richard, Jean; Rivard, Claude; Rivard, Francois; Rivard, Joseph; Rivard, Maturin; Rivard, Robert; Robert, Pierre; Robert, Prudent; Roy, Pierre; Saint Onge, Louis; Serond, Jean; Serrier, Martin; Surgere, Blaize; Tacet, Pierre; Tavereau-la Grandeur, Pierre; Texier, Antoine; Thannary-Dufresne, Antoine; Tisse, Francois; Trudeau, Baptiste; Trudeau, Joseph; Trottier-Beaubien, Michel; Trottier-Desruisseau, Antoine; Trottier, Jean Baptiste; Trottier, Paul; Truteau, Jean Baptiste.

This list of names as given by Mr. Burton has been made by me to correspond with the changes suggested by Rev. Christian Dennisen,¹ Pastor of St. Charles Church, Detroit. All are apparently of French nativity or descent, with the exception of Bombardier, Andre, who, as Fr. Dennisen states, was born in the city of Lisle, Belgium.

Of the 96 persons comprising the actual landholders and permanent residents of Detroit prior to the close of the first decennial period in its history, 89 had married in Canada and had brought their wives to Detroit.

The baptismal names of the mothers of the succeeding generations of the French race in Detroit, deserve special notice. I find the record to show the greatest reverence for the Virgin Mary. There are 36 Maries, including Magdeline, etc.; 11 Magdelines, 10 Marguerites, 9 Angeliques, 5 Jeannes, 5 Thereses, 3 Annes, 2 each of Louise, Francoise, and Genevieve, and 1 each of Catherine, Cecille, Claire, Isabelle and Marthe.

In fact the nomenclature of both the men and the women as given in baptism show them to have been of Christian families of Catholic France.

During succeeding generations some of these names have been changed by dropping the first and retaining the second, thus: Aquet, has become Laporte; Bienvenue, De Lisle; Bouette, Delliarde; Boutron, Major; Casse, St. Aubin; Chouet, Camerand; Compian, L'Esperance; De Marsac, Marsac; Dupuis, Beauregard; Fafard, De Lorme; Labatier, Champagne; La Montagne, Mouet;

Leger, Parissien Paris; Tavereau, Lagrandeur; Than-nary, Dufrene; Trottier, Beaubien; and Trottier, Des-ruisseau, are among those in this list. Otherwise, Com-peau has been changed to Campau; Chesne to Chene; Des Ruisseau to Rousseau; Dufiguier to Figuier; Du Fresne to Dufrene; Du Moulin to Doumoulin; Du Roy to Roy; Du Vestin to Vestin, etc.

According to Mr. Burton the principal street of the village was Ste. Anne, running about parallel to the present Jefferson avenue, and occupying nearly the north-erly line of that thoroughfare, so that the southern tier of lots and St. Louis street fell entirely in that street.

The westerly line was not far from the present line of Shelby street, and the easterly line was a short distance west of Griswold street.

At the easterly end and at first without the palisades was the Church of Ste. Anne.

I have before me the text of an interesting lecture delivered before the Historical Society of Michigan, at Detroit, in 1829, by General Lewis Cass. Its subject is an outline of the history of the city during the French and English regimes.

I know of no more impartial nor reliable authority to offer to my readers, and I shall make use of it, in continuation of the preliminary chapters given above.

If the enemies of the colony of Detroit in Canada and in Europe had planned its decadence and abandonment, as a result of the promotion of its founder to the govern-orship of Louisiana, they were doomed to bitter dis-ap-pointment.

The social and the spiritual welfare of the Christian men and women, whose names comprise the real founders of the colony, and who were destined to plant the Catholic faith upon the littorals of this beautiful strait, was not overlooked by Divine Providence, as the sequel will show.

General Cass states: We have nowhere a connected account of the progress of this colony; occasional notices are interspersed through the French historians, and detailed descriptions are given of a few of the more important events; but the whole subject is involved in much obscurity.

Attention is directed to this remark of the general, with the suggestion, that what he did not know of the subject of his lecture was of little account.

The statistical facts, he continues, are altogether neglected. We have no comparative estimates of population or production; none of those severe investigations into the character and condition of the country which render modern history so valuable and satisfactory.

A small stockaded fort was erected extending from First street to Griswold street, and enclosing the houses occupied by the persons attached to the post and the traders. The whole establishment was slight and rude, intended rather to overawe than seriously resist the Indians. Only the third year after the establishment of the post, the Indians who had settled in its near vicinity at the suggestion of Cadillac, were invited to Albany, and many of the chiefs of the Ottawas actually visited that place.

They returned disaffected to the French interest and persuaded that the post was established here to restrain and eventually to subdue them.

At that time the Indian villages in the vicinity of the fort, comprised the Huron, the site of which was on the farm now owned by Col. De Garmo Jones (next below the Cass farm). Another was a Pottawatomie village, upon the farm of Mr. Navarre; a third was a Miami village a few miles below the latter, while the Ottawa castle and village had been located on the southeast shore on the opposite side of the strait opposite the lower end of Hog Island. These villages were permanently occupied; but great numbers of roving tribes occasionally resorted here; and it was evident from many circumstances that the people were well supplied. Game was abundant and herds of buffalo were then ranging upon the prairies about the River Raisin. The first serious calamity which threatened the infant colony with destruction arose from an unexpected quarter.

Until this time the Ottagamies, or Foxes, were little known, and no striking event had directed the attention of the French to them. We are therefore unable to trace the causes which induced them to take up arms, or the means they had provided for their daring enterprise. They appear to have been connected with the Iroquois and with them to have embraced the English interest. Their history for 50 years succeeding this period is a history of desperate efforts, directed against the French and many of the tribes around them, evincing a firmness of purpose, a reckless valor, and a patient endurance of misfortune worthy of a better cause and a better fate.

In May, 1712, they determined to destroy Detroit, and in conformity with Indian tactics to make their arrangements secretly and to execute them suddenly. Under various pretenses they collected in the vicinity in great numbers. The Sieur Du Buisson had succeeded to the command of the post. He was a good officer, but his available force consisted of only 20 soldiers. The Hurons, the Ottawas, and the Pottawatomies, upon whose friendship and assistance in the hour of need he could rely, were absent on their hunting expeditions. An Ottagami, who was a Christian convert, disclosed the plot to Du Buisson before it was ripe for execution and he took immediate measures to counteract it.

Swift runners were sent to call his allies to his assistance and preparations were made for a vigorous defense.

The Ottagamies, finding their object discovered, commenced the attack, but on the 13th of May the French were greeted with the sight of a powerful body of their friends, naked, painted, and prepared for battle.

The gates of the fort were immediately opened to them and they entered the council house, where in a consultation with Du Buisson, they professed their attachment to the French and their determination to defend them. They were received and answered as their professions and services well merited.

In the meantime the Ottagamies had retired to an entrenched camp they had previously formed where Jefferson avenue intersects the present line of Brush street. Here they were invested by the allied forces and a blockhouse was erected overlooking the defenses of the Ottagamies, from which so severe a fire was kept up that

they could not procure water. Their provisions were soon consumed and hunger and thirst reduced them to extremity. Despair, however, invigorated them; and becoming the assailants, they succeeded in gaining possession of a house adjoining the fort. They strengthened this new position and annoyed their adversaries. They were at length dislodged by the cannon, and driven back to their entrenchments. At this time they made a pacific effort to terminate hostilities, and with this view a deputation was sent to Du Buisson. No confidence, however, being placed in their declarations, either by the French or their Indian allies, their offer was rejected. When the Ottagami deputation reported the result to their chiefs and warriors, their indignation excited them to renewed and desperate efforts, and not less than 300 arrows with lighted matches attached to them were discharged at the fort. The houses were generally thatched with straw and several of them were burned. The others of them were preserved by covering them with wet skins.

This determined resistance almost discouraged the French commander. He seriously contemplated evacuating his post and retiring to Michilimackinac. He convened his Indian allies in council and disclosed his intention.

They remonstrated against this measure, and promised to redouble their efforts. The war-song was again sung and the parties repaired to their posts. The attack was so vigorous that the Ottagamis were reduced to extremity. Many of their bravest chiefs were killed, and their fort was filled with the dying and the dead.

They again demanded a parley and the negotiations were renewed. While these were pending on the nineteenth day of the siege, a tremendous storm arose, and during the night they abandoned their fort without discovery and with their women and children fled to the peninsula which advances into Lake St. Clair (Grosse Pointe). Here they were pursued, and being incautiously attacked, the allies were repulsed with considerable loss. Four days were occupied in efforts to carry this new position, and on the fifth day succeeded by means of a field battery erected by the French. The assailants entered the works in arms, and put to death almost all who had been opposed to them. The women and children were spared, and divided as slaves among the confederated tribes. The Ottagamies lost more than a thousand warriors in this disastrous expedition.

The subsequent fate of this nation is not unworthy of notice. They collected their scattered bands and established their homes on Fox River. But the same restless and reckless disposition accompanied them. Like the son of Hagar, their hand was against every man and every man's hand was against them. They commanded the communication between the Lakes and the Mississippi, so that it could only be traversed by large bodies of armed men.

Their war parties were sent out in all directions and they kept the whole region in a continuous state of alarm and danger. Their hostile attitudes so seriously menaced the French interest in that quarter, that an expedition was organized and detached to subdue them. It was accompanied by the warriors of all the other

nations, who had been provoked to take signal vengeance by their fierce and troubled spirit.

The Ottagamies had selected a strong position on the Fox River, since called Butte des Morts, or the hill of the dead, which they had fortified by three rows of pallisades and a ditch. They here secured their women and children, and prepared for a vigorous defense. Their entrenchments were so formidable that De Louvigney, the French commander, declined an assault, and invested the place in form.

By regular approaches, he gained a proper distance for mining their works, and was preparing to blow up one of the curtains when they proposed a capitulation. Terms were eventually offered and accepted; and those who survived the siege were spared and liberated. But the power of the Ottagami nation was broken and their pride humbled. And since this period no remarkable incident has occurred in their history.

From 1720 to 1760 solitary facts in the history of Detroit may be here and there gleaned, but no continuous account can be given of its condition and progress. The materials are too scanty for unbroken narrative. It struggled with all the difficulties incident to a remote and exposed position. The Indians in the vicinity, although not in open hostility, were vindictive and treacherous; and no one could tell when or how they might attack it.

In 1749 considerable additions were made to the settlements upon the river, and emigrants were sent to the colony at the expense of the colonial government, supplied with farming utensils, provisions and other means

of support. The continuous wars between France and England, which filled so large a portion of the eighteenth century, extended their influence to this quarter, and a company of militia detailed from the inhabitants, and commanded by an ancestor of one of our most respectable families, that of Campau, fought in the great battle where Braddock was defeated and killed.

But it was under the walls of Quebec that the political fate of this country was decided. Upon the plains of Abraham the victor and the vanquished poured out their blood together, displaying in death, as they had displayed in life, traits of magnanimity and heroism worthy of the best days of chivalry. "Who flies?" said the expiring Wolfe to an exclamation of one of the mourning group around him. He was answered, "the enemy!" Then said he, "I die happy," and he died. His fate, so picturesque and glorious, recalls the memory of Epaminondas and Gustavus on the plains of Mantinea and Lutzen—Victory crowned their standards and death sealed their career. His rival in fame, and in all but fortune, Montcalm, nobly supported the honor of France and fell too soon for his country, though too late for himself.

But a few years afterwards and another noble and gallant leader attempted to plant the standard of freedom upon the rocky battlements of Quebec. He fell, where Wolfe and Montcalm had fallen before him, but the memory of Montgomery will be cherished as long as the sacred cause for which he fought. In 1760, the British under the capitulation of Montreal took possession of Detroit and the upper posts, and in 1763 these were finally ceded to France.

At this period the French had establishments at St. Joseph, at Green Bay, at Michilimackinac, at Detroit, at the Maumee and Sandusky. As fortified places most of these were unimportant, intended more as depots of trade than as military establishments. The positions were selected with much judgment and knowledge of the country, and they yet (in 1829) commanded the great avenues of communication to the world of woods and waters beyond us.

DETROIT IN THE REVOLUTION.

By C. M. Burton.

It needed no formal act of parliament, no declaration of the American people, to proclaim to the world the existence of a state of war between the British colonies of North America and the mother country. Aggressive and conquering England, not contented with the possessions she already held in America, had, by the treaty of Paris in 1763, obtained the relinquishment to herself from France of that vast tract of country then known as Canada, including all the possessions that are now known by that name, as well as the more valuable portion north of the Ohio river and west of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Greedy and ill-advised in her attempt at conquest, she grasped too much, and in order to retain possession of her new acquisition, she was compelled to loose her hold upon what she had originally claimed and the colonies slipped away from her forever. Scarcely ten years elapsed from the signing of the treaty of Paris, before there were mutterings of discontent in the colonies, and when the year 1775 came, England's old possessions were in a state of rebellion which terminated in their independence.

By the provisional treaty of Paris in 1783 the independence of the colonies was recognized, and a few months later the final treaty was signed, which forever divested England of all claims to her first possessions as well as to a large part of the territory acquired from France in 1763.

It was in this tract—in this land which England obtained from France, and which England, in turn, relinquished to the United States, that Detroit was situated, the most important post in this vast territory.

The histories of the United States or of the revolutionary war do not contain much that applies to our local history, the reason probably being that the important events transpired near the seacoast, and but very little was known of Detroit or of the vast and rich country of which it was the center. Our history of this period is to be found in the numerous local histories of Ohio, Illinois, Canada and Michigan; the memoirs of residents, travels, and published letters, the transactions of historical societies, some few acts of Congress, and military letters of Washington, Jefferson and others, and above all in that great accumulation of letters and reports which are in manuscript in the British Museum, and have been transcribed for the Dominion of Canada under the direction of the archivist, Mr. Douglas Brymner, and are called, from their collector, Gen. Frederick Haldemand, the "Haldemand Collections." Many of the manuscripts in this collection, which particularly relate to Michigan, have been printed in Michigan Pioneer Collection, but many more, of quite as great local interest, are still in manuscript.

The Ohio and Illinois country comprised all the land to the south of us as far as the Ohio river, and west of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The entrance into this country from Canada was either by way of Niagara or Detroit, and these two posts, as the bases of supplies and headquarters of British soldiers for the district, became posts of importance. The lands along the Ohio valley were very fertile, and when the war had actually commenced in the east, people began to crowd westward and take up these rich lands, clear them of their timber, and settle upon them. This country was also the best hunting ground of the Indians, and they resented the intrusion of the Virginians, and when they were unable to stem the increasing tide, they asked the aid of the British at Detroit. Thus, while Detroit was never actually engaged in any battle of the new republic, it was the important place for carrying on the war in the west. It was the depot for the distribution of presents, supplies and ammunition to the Indians, and the Indians were paid for their services solely by these presents and supplies. It was the headquarters of the Indian department in the west, and the Indian agents made their reports to the Detroit commandant and he forwarded them to the government at Quebec. It was, likewise, the headquarters of the Rangers, who were generally the leaders in the Indian incursions. They brought their prisoners to Detroit to be retained to work on the fortifications or to be sent down to Montreal and Quebec. Here also was the navy yard for the repairing of old vessels and the building of new ones, to be used for transportation purposes on Lake Erie and Lake Huron.

Thus Detroit became a place of importance from the very outbreak of the revolution. When the war was ended, and it was agreed that the territory should become a part of the United States, Great Britain hesitated about giving up the possessions and put one obstacle after another in the way of fulfilling her part of the treaty, and it was not until 1796 that the United States troops finally entered the village, and the British troops departed.

DETROIT AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.

The village of Detroit, as it existed in 1775, may be described somewhat as follows:

The King's commons was a cleared space of ground extending from the Brush Farm on the east to the Cass Farm on the west, and stretching back from the river as far as the Grand Circus Park. Along the front, about the foot of Woodward avenue, was the shipyard. Just above this, and forming a part of what is now called the Brush Farm, were several lots occupied by persons in the employ of the British government and not owned by the occupants. On the southerly or westerly side, at the water's edge, was built the post proper.

The commons had originally been cleared of wood and underbrush, to prevent the congregating of Indians under cover, and with a like design, the lands on the west of the village had been cleared and a few small houses were erected outside of the fortifications on the Cass Farm. The commons was the property of the entire settlement, and no one was permitted to enclose or cultivate any portion of it, and when one of the officers

of the garrison attempted to fence in a small yard in which to keep his horse, the inhabitants remonstrated at once and the fence was removed.

The fort occupied the ground between Griswold street on the east, the Cass farm line on the west, and extended from the river bank, where Woodbridge street now runs, to Larned street, thus occupying about four blocks of the present city. The streets were very narrow, and the lots very shallow. It has, at various times, been attempted to locate some portion of the village as a fort, which should be separated from the village itself and should bear the name of Pontchartrain, but it is doubtful if there ever was a separate building or buildings to which that name could properly be applied. In general terms it might be said that the civil or commercial name of the place was Detroit, and its military name Pontchartrain. On the map which was used by the powers in negotiating the treaty of 1783, the name of Pontchartrain alone appears, and Detroit does not exist.

In a letter written by Donald Campbell in 1761 the place is thus described: "The fort is very large and in good repair; there are two bastions towards the water and a large fast bastion towards the inland. The point of the bastion is a cavalier of wood, on which there are mounted the three pounders and three small mortars or cohorns. The palisades are in good repair. There is a scaffolding round the whole, which is only floored towards the land for want of plank; it is by way of a banquette. There are seventy or eighty houses in the fort, laid out in regular streets. The country is inhabited ten miles on each side of the river and is a most beauti-

ful country. The river is here about 900 yards over and very deep. Around the whole village, just within the palisades, was a road which was called the "Chemin de Ronde." All the other streets in the village bore names indicating the fact that Detroit had been a missionary post. There were Ste. Anne, St. Joseph, St. Louis, St. Honore, St. James (or St. Jaques) and Sacrament streets. Ste. Anne street occupied the same position that Jefferson avenue now occupies, but did not run exactly parallel with it. This street was probably twenty feet wide, except at its eastern extremity where was situated the Church of Ste. Anne, and as the church was set back some twenty feet, the street was here about forty feet wide. The other streets were not more than twelve feet in width. The northern line of pickets ran through the present Larned street, and there was a street between this picket line and Ste. Anne street called St. James street. Ste. Anne's church lot, the northwestern corner of the present Jefferson avenue and Griswold street, extended from Ste. Anne street to the Chemin de Ronde on the north and completely blocked St. James street at this point. On St. James street, sixty feet west of the church, was a lot owned by the church which is termed in the conveyances "La fabrique," and on it was possibly the dwelling of the priest. There is no evidence that there were any instructors. The priest could not speak English and there were very few French within the inclosure. St. Honore street occupied nearly the same position that Shelby street now occupies, and some 200 feet south of Ste. Anne street and nearly at the water's edge, was a building used for holding Indian

councils, and lodging such of the Indians as were permitted to remain over night in the inclosure. Ste. Anne street, with the exception of the church, was devoted to the business houses of the town; that is, the traders lived on the street and used a portion of each dwelling for the purpose of trade. Some of the larger dealers, as Macomb, Edgar and Macomb, and Graverat and Vis-gar, had several places and doubtless occupied dwellings apart from their places of business. Immediately outside the pickets on the west, on Ste. Anne street, were the barracks or building occupied by the soldiers, a small parade ground and a stone dwelling occupied by the commandant. These buildings and grounds constituted the "citadel" and were inclosed by another palisade still further to the west the easterly side being the westerly picket line of the village proper. A few years later, but within the period of the war, there were several small lots sold on the Cass farm, still further to the west, indicating that houses were built outside the pickets in that direction. With the exception of the stone building referred to, all of the buildings in the inclosure were of wood, small, one-story in height, built up close together and numbering more than eighty. After the fire which destroyed Detroit in 1805 sufficient stone was found to erect a building which in after years was known as the Mansion House, and this house was nearly on the site of the stone building referred to; it is probable that the materials of this building were used for the Mansion House. In the rear of the pickets, to the north, a small stream flowed in a westerly direction. When the brook bore any name at all it still retained

the old French appellation of Ruisseau de Rurtus, and was known only by that name until modern antiquarians have attempted to fasten upon it the name of Savoy or Savoyard.

THE FORTIFICATIONS.

The post of Detroit was already considered old, the wooden buildings and the eleven block houses and batteries were rotting to pieces. The village limits had been several times enlarged and at present the town was surrounded by a nearly new stockade of cedar pickets, fifteen feet high and 1200 paces in extent. The fort was in a tolerable state of defence against savages, but as they had no cannon or earthworks, it would stand no show against soldiers properly armed. The settlement immediately dependent upon the fort extended some eight miles down the river and thirteen miles up the river and along the margin of Lake St. Clair. There had been a census taken two years earlier which showed that there were, in this district, 1,357 people exclusive of the garrison (and also exclusive of Indians) divided as follows: South of the fort, 475; north of the fort, 655; in the stockade, 222; Hog Island, 5.

The French inhabitants, or Canadians as they are almost universally called, were an indolent, but happy and contented people. By the savages they were accepted as brothers, and it not infrequently happened that a Frenchman was adopted into and made a chief of some Indian tribe. The races sometimes intermarried and they became, in many respects, one nation. The new comers were mostly English, and at once took almost

exclusive charge of the navigation of the lakes, the fur trade and farming. In regard to the latter occupation, while the French still retained the land they had long occupied, it was not properly tilled, and they could scarcely support themselves. They did not raise sufficient wheat or corn for their own subsistence, but traded the furs and game obtained on their hunting expeditions, for bread at the bake houses in the fort. Their farms were narrow strips of land, each with a frontage on the river and extending in depth forty arpents, or French acres. There were, at the time we speak of, only three farms that extended to a greater depth, two being sixty arpents and the other eighty arpents in depth. Their houses were all of log or frame work, built nearly at the waters edge and were within hailing distance of each other. Each house had an orchard adjoining of fine fruits, and apples, pears, peaches, plums, were in abundance. A road ran along the shore line of the river but, except in the dry season of the year, or when snow was on the round, traveling was by canoes.

The French were all strict attendants at church service, and very jealous of any seeming reflection on their religion. They were a conquered nation and could never look upon the English as their friends, and in turn, while the English tried hard to obtain their assistance and used them always with consideration and paid them well, they never trusted them, and we find letter after letter and reports without number containing caution against trusting the Canadians and warnings to beware of treachery. So, also, the Indians were a constant source of annoyance to the British. While

great quantities of rum, trinkets and presents of all kinds were annually given to the various Indian tribes, they could not be kept constant to the British cause, nor could they even, by all this vast waste of money be kept from occasionally joining the American or rebel forces. Indian councils were being called at short intervals at which the British officers made promises of future assistance, accompanied with donations of such things as the Indians seemed to need, but after the breaking up of the council the officers, in their reports, always expressed their want of reliance on the Indian allies.

The entire Dominion of Canada had been commanded by a single governor at Quebec, with military commandants at each of the most important posts in the country; but shortly after the outbreak of the war the Earl of Dartmouth created the new office of Lieutenant-Governor and appointed Henry Hamilton Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, Patrick Sinclair Lieutenant-Governor of Michillimackinac, and Edward Abbott Lieutenant-Governor of Vincennes. Henry Hamilton arrived in Detroit on the 9th day of November, 1775, and at once set to work to repair the fort and block-houses, which were in a dilapidated condition. There were only two companies of the King's (or Eighth) regiment in the garrison, but these, as well as the inhabitants, were set at work on the fortifications. A ditch was dug around the citadel and new block-houses and batteries were constructed. Hamilton's first official report to the Earl of Dartmouth is dated September 2, 1776,, and contains a well-drawn picture of the manners of the inhabitants.

"The enterprising spirit of the trader is likely to crowd out the Canadians," he says, "and the latter in a few years will be dependant on or bought out by the traders. The navigation of the lakes, in the larger vessels, is already in the hands of the new comers. The new settlers manage their farms to the best advantage."

"The backwardness in the improvement of farming has probably been owing to easy and lazy method of procuring bare necessities in this settlement; wood was at hand and the inhabitants therefore neglected to raise stone and burn lime which is to be had at their doors. The river is plentifully stocked with fish, and yet not one French family has a seine. Hunting and fowling afforded food to numbers who are nearly as lazy as the savages, who are rarely prompted to the chase until hunger pinches them. The soil is so good that the most ignorant farmers raise good crops. There is no limit to the number of traders permitted here, and the unworthy and dishonest ones impose on the savages and cheat them." Hamilton was busily engaged during the years 1775 and 1776 in preparing the fort for defence; in getting acquainted with his new surroundings and in seeing the Indians and attending their councils. The Virginians—and the American or rebel forces in the west were generally so designated—were sending emissaries throughout the west, among all the Indian tribes, striving to gain their good will and, if not their assistance, at least their neutrality. The Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandottes, Shawanees, Senecas, Delawares, Cherokees, and Pottowatomies are all mentioned as holding councils at or near Detroit during these years, and the

governor took it upon himself to say that on several specified occasions, in their councils, he destroyed the letters and belts sent as invitations from the Virginian congress.

It appears from charges afterwards made against Hamilton that he urged the Indians to bring scalps rather than prisoners, and although no such statements directly appear in his official reports, it is not improbable that he did so instruct the Indians, but omitted to make his report show his disposition in this respect. In his letter to the Earl of Dartmouth he said: "The Indians all appear to be satisfied, but I am not to rely on their assurances, for as soon as the council breaks up, I expect to hear of several small parties falling on the scattered settlers on the Ohio and rivers which fall into it, a deplorable sort of war, but which the arrogance, disloyalty and impudence of the Virginians has justly drawn down upon them." The office of lieutenant-governor did not confer any military authority, and although Hamilton had general charge over all affairs here, he sometimes quarreled with the military commandant, and was not able to control him to his liking. He is accused of using undue severity on several occasions and of being aided and assisted in his tyranny by Philippe Dejean, the notary and justice of the peace.

On one occasion in 1777, one Jonas Schindler had been accused of selling base metal mixed with silver, and upon trial before a jury of twelve persons he had been acquitted; thereupon Hamilton, resenting the acquittal, ordered Schindler to be drummed out of the town, but Capt. Lord, then in command of the garrison, "silenced

the drum when it entered the citadel in order to pass out at the west gate with the prisoner, and said that Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton might exercise what acts of cruelty and oppression he pleased in the town but that he would suffer none in the citadel."

Early in 1777 Hamilton was invited by Carleton to come to Quebec in order to put his settlement in some sort of order. He said the legislative council had met, "but the times will not at present admit of any regulations being made for more distant or remote situations while the commotions continue; the power of the sword is chiefly and indeed only to be trusted to. The keeping of the Indians firm to the king's interest ought to be your first and great object." Hamilton was included in a commission of the peace for the province at large, and in that capacity could issue commitments to send down any persons guilty of criminal offences in Detroit, "but these must be signed by you, and not by Dejean, whose authority is unknown here."

As the winter approached it was necessary that suitable preparations should be made for carrying information between the various military posts. Letters and dispatches must be constantly sent between Michillimackinac, Detroit, Post Vincennes, Niagara, Montreal and Quebec. During the warm weather this was not so great a task, as communication by runners through the woods or the birch canoe gliding over the waters of the lake and the rivers was speedy and certain, but in the winter the carrying of information must be confided to more trustworthy persons. These messengers were then to be sent out in parties, to consist of an Indian, a Can-

adian and two or three soldiers. Through the snow or along the margin of the lake on the ice, they carried their dispatches from one post to another, and kept each commandant, as completely as possible, informed of all transactions in the outer world. Every letter was written in duplicate or triplicate, and it is no uncommon matter now to find that two or three copies of the same letter had reached the person to whom it was sent, by as many different routes. The affairs of Vincennes, of Michillimackinac and of Niagara, were much better known to the people of Detroit in 1777, than they are to-day. If the winter was severe, the river at Detroit was frozen, and the inhabitants were "snow bound." Intercourse with the outside world was cut off, except on the arrival of the occasional dispatch parties. Most of the inhabitants of the posts were traders who bought furs from the Indians and Canadian hunters, and sold them such articles as they needed in return. One of the articles which they deemed a necessity was rum, and a wonderful quantity of it was disposed of. To anticipate for an instant; Governor Haldimand complained in 1779 that there were consumed in Detroit 17,520 gallons of rum per year, while at Niagara only 10,000 gallons were disposed of. This seemingly vast amount is only what the government gave away to its Indian wards; how much more was sold by the traders it is impossible to tell.

Detroit was known to the British as a stronghold, as the key to the entrance to the southern department, but by the Americans it was watched as carefully as circumstances would permit, and its capture or destruc-

tion desired and prepared for. We have a letter from Washington to General Schuyler in 1778, in which he suggests plans for invading Canada and for the reduction of Niagara, but admitting the impracticability of reducing Niagara. He writes that "an expedition against Detroit, which congress meditated last fall, and still have in contemplation, will keep the Indians in that quarter employed and prevent them from affording succor to the garrison at Niagara;" and in his report to congress in January, 1779, he says he thinks General McIntosh (then at Fort Pitt) should at once decide whether, with his present force, provisions, stores, prospect of supplies and means of transportation, he can advance to Detroit, and whether the advantages or disadvantages of a winter expedition predominate. If these should be determined in the affirmative, his plan should be prosecuted with vigor."

Hamilton's overbearing disposition had caused a quarrel between himself and the commanding officers of the garrison, and Capt. Lernoult was sent up from Niagara to take the military command and settle the matter in dispute, and arrived some time in December, 1777. As Hamilton expected to make a descent on Fort Pitt as soon as possible in the spring of 1778, the winter was occupied with preparations for the event, holding Indian councils and getting vessels in readiness for transportation, and in all this he was assisted by Capt. Lernoult, who, although physically weak, was mentally strong and active.

At the opening of 1778 Hamilton continually sent reports to show the necessity of a descent upon Fort Pitt,

and to show that the fort was incapable of resisting any force that might be sent against it; he reported that the garrison of Port Pitt was only 120 men, and they were undisciplined and ill-affected; the cannon were out of condition for service and the garrison did not understand the serving of them; the alarm on the Ohio was very general and something ought to be done to encourage loyalists there and to keep the Indians employed; "the militia and light company (at Detroit) would furnish 150 picket men, this garrison might spare an officer and thirty or forty men. Should your excellency think it advantageous for the protection of those persons living amongst the rebels who are friends of the government, or for the purpose of distressing the enemy to attempt Fort Pitt, I beg leave to make an humble offer of my service, whether to act with a body of militia and Indians, according to circumstances, and the information I can produce, or under the directions of a regular officer appointed by your excellency to conduct an enterprise. We are entirely agreed as to the practicability of distressing the enemy somewhere on the frontier next spring."

Hamilton, himself, had felt the need of a properly appointed judiciary and in this respect he represented the entire community. It was then with a feeling of relief that it was made known that a Mr. Owen had arrived in Quebec bearing a commission as judge of Detroit. There had been no previous intimation of his coming and Detroit had not been set off or been organized as a judicial district; nor were there other officers appointed such as would be required for properly carrying on the

court business, but a judge had been chosen and that was one step in the right direction. Imagine the feelings of the citizens when, a few days latter, they received information of a letter from Lord Germain to Sir Guy Carleton containing the following: "A mistake appearing to have been made in Mr. Owen's warrant by appointing him a judge of the district of Detroit, instead of Montreal, a new warrant has been made out which rectifies that mistake and the receiver-general will have orders from the treasury to pay him the salary for the past year according to his present appointment." So Detroit lost its first judge without ever seeing him. Hamilton was disappointed; he was greatly in fear of the result of the investigation of the grand jury of Montreal into the affairs of Dejean and himself. He sought to smooth over the anticipated action of the grand jury, and immediately upon learning that Halidmand had arrived at Quebec he wrote to him that "a very able and amiable person (Mr. Owen) was destined for the place of judge of this place, his absence, which I have sufficient cause to lament, has occasioned me to act at the risque of being reprehensible on many occasions. The loss of so estimable a man as Mr. Owen must be doubly felt, while I am obliged to act as judge, and in several cases executor of justice, there is no executioner or gaoler, nor is a gaol yet built, tho' greatly wanted. Mr. Dejean, who has been justice of the peace here a long time, is indefatigable, but he, as well as myself, requires to be better informed and better supported. I show him all the countenance I am able, but till my own au-

thority is on a proper foundation, it can serve him but little.” *

Both Hamilton and Dejean were presented by the grand jury, September 7, 1778; Dejean for having acted and transacted divers unjust and illegal, tyranical, and felonious acts and things contrary to good government and the safety of his majesty's liege subjects,” and “that the said Hamilton hath not only remained at Detroit aforesaid and been witness to the several illegal acts and doings of him, the said Philip Dejean, but has tolerated, suffered and permitted the same under his government guidance and direction.” The presentment was forwarded to Lord George Germain on the 25th of October and a warrant was issued for the arrest of Hamilton and Dejean. Dejean was twice indicted; Hamilton once. One of the indictments was published some years since in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection, but the other seems never to have reached the printers hands. Feeling assured, from investigation, that the other presentment existed, I looked carefully through all of Mr. Brymner's reports, and was rewarded after more than a year of diligent search in finding the lost paper, and at once obtained a copy of it. It is dated September 8, 1778, and is a long document, reciting that Dejean, on December 9, 1775, illegally acting as magistrate at Detroit, caused one Eller (Hecker) to be tried before him on the charge of murdering one Charles Morin (Moran).

*The tone of this letter led Cambell, Buel, and perhaps some others to suppose that Owen died. The fact is that William Owen served as judge for some time in Montreal, and finally returned to England in poor health.

and upon his conviction, sentenced said Eller to death, and that the convict was executed; and that in February or March, 1776, Dejean likewise had John Constantinau and Nancy, a negro woman, apprehended and tried before him for attempting to burn the dwelling house of Messrs. Abbott and Finchley, and also for having stolen some money and peltries, and Constantinau was condemned and executed; that the woman, Nancy, was likewise sentenced to death, and was imprisoned for a time, but was pardoned by Dejean upon condition that she act as executioner in putting to death the said Constantinau, and that said Nancy put to death said Constantinau by hanging him; that in June, 1776, said Dejean caused one Jonas Schindler, a Montreal silversmith, to be imprisoned and tried for issuing base metal as pure silver, but that Schindler was acquitted on the trial. Dejean would not let Schindler go with the acquittal, but kept him imprisoned six days and then, attended by a drum and guards, had him drummed out of the garrison. Judge Campbell, in his history of Michigan, says, concerning this episode: "It is evident there is much of its unwritten history yet unknown." I believe the publication of this second presentment taken in connection with the matter already published by Campbell, and the account in Lannan's history (page 133), and the reports from the war department on these indictments, hereinafter referred to, make this matter as clear as it ever can be. We have an unbroken narrative—nothing is wanting. Hamilton and Dejean acted with the consent of the jury they had called, and within what they deemed to be their authority, but their execution was murder, because they had no

legal authority to condemn to death. In consequence of the unsettled state of affairs during the war England thought best to overlook the irregular conviction and execution and the parties were permitted to go free.

Edward Abbott, of Detroit, had been appointed lieutenant-governor of Vincennes, and had remained there till February, 1778, and then returned to Detroit, where he arrived on the 7th of March. The only excuse he gave for returning was that he was without means to supply the Indians with sufficient to keep them from joining the rebels, and preferred to return rather than make promises he could not carry out, and he accordingly left before the Indians returned from their hunt. Early in January of this year Virginia had authorized Lieut.-Gov. George Rogers Clark to proceed to the west and attack the British posts in the Illinois country. The instructions to Clark are signed by Patrick Henry, and direct him to raise seven companies of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner, "and with his force attack the British post at Kaskasky." Kaskaskia was taken on the fourth of July, and a few days afterwards Clark took Vincennes, or rather it was delivered up to him, as the only persons left there seem to have been Frenchmen well affected to the American cause. Clark returned to his troops at Kaskaskia, leaving Vincennes with a small garrison. Here was Hamilton's chance to get away from Detroit, and the warrant for his arrest. He had not succeeded in getting a permit to attack Fort Pitt, but this time he would not give Haldiman an opportunity to forbid his going. On the 14th and 29th days of June he had prolonged councils with the Indians and knew that,

for a time at least, they would be faithful to his interests. On the 8th of August he wrote to Carlton that Rocheblave, the commandant at Kaskaskia, had been taken prisoner by the rebels and he had no doubt that Vincennes had fallen into their hands also. On the 11th of August he again wrote to Carleton that a party of marauders, consisting of 300 men, that left Fort Pitt the preceding January, had taken Kaskasia, imprisoned the commandant, and were on their way to Vincennes. On the 5th of September he informed Gov. Haldimand, who had taken Carleton's place, that "a prisoner brought here by the Shawnee lately, who was taken near one of the forts on the river Kentucke, tells me the rebels were lately reinforced with three companies, each of seventy men," and he will not be surprised to hear that the rebels are driven away, nor will he be surprised to hear that they are well received at Vincennes.*

When Col. Clarke received news of the surrender of Vincennes, he started for that place to retake it from Hamilton, and arrived a short distance from it on the 23rd of February, 1779, when he sent off a note to the inhabitants in which he notified those who were true citizens and willing to enjoy true liberty "to remain in their houses, and those, if any there are, that are friends to the king, will instantly repair to the fort, and join the Hair Buyer General and fight like men." After ex-

*The capture of Vincennes, as here related, forms the basis of the story of the late Maurice Thompson, "Alice of Old Vincennes."

Accompanying this letter is a statement about Detroit, that on April the 26th, 1778, there were 2,144 people, including 127 slaves.

changing some shots, by which several soldiers were wounded but none killed, Hamilton surrendered at discretion on the 24th of February. Dejean who had been left behind in Detroit was as anxious to avoid service of the warrant as was Hamilton, and at the earliest opportunity set off for Vincennes and was captured by a party sent out by Clarke, on March 5. Dejean had obtained leave of Lernoult (who was then in charge of Detroit), to pass to Vincennes to carry letters to Hamilton and at the time of his capture was with one Adhemar, whom Hamilton had sent to the Miamis after provisions. As we look back upon these skirmishes, battles and captures, where only a very few soldiers were engaged on either side, and where there was very little blood shed, and possibly no serious wounds, it seems as though they were only "playing war," and yet we know now that this capture of Vincennes was one of the most important events of the revolution. It, for a time, put an end to concerted Indian war in the west, and gave congress the right to claim all of that vast country called the northwest territory, as their land by right of conquest when the treaty of 1783 was executed.

Alexander McKee, one of the most enterprising royalists in the west, informed Haldimand that there was a prospect "at this time of uniting the western and southern Indians and engaging them in his majesty's service, which would have been undoubtedly effected had not his (Hamilton's) unfortunate fate prevented it. This unlucky event has not only discouraged many tribes well disposed, but inclined others who were wavering, to stand neuter."

As Col. Clark was commissioned by Virginia, Hamilton and the others with him, were considered the prisoners of that state. The Virginia legislature considered that Americans who had been captured by the British, were unfairly treated as prisoners of war, and had threatened, unless better treatment was granted, to retaliate upon British soldiers taken by the Virginians. Thus it happened that Hamilton and Dejean and Willian Lamothe, a captain of volunteers from Detroit, who had been taken prisoner with them, were chosen as the proper persons on whom to begin the process of retaliation. It was not alone that they were prisoners of war that they were thus chosen, but because of the infamous character of the men themselves. The council of Virginia on June 18, 1779, determined that Hamilton excited the Indians to perpetrate cruelties on citizens of the United States; that he gave standing rewards for scalps, but none for prisoners, and that Dejean was, "on all occasions, the willing and cordial instrument of Gov. Hamilton, acting both as judge and keeper of the jails, and instigating and urging him by malicious insinuations and untruths, to increase, rather than relax, his severities, hightening the cruelty of his orders by his manner of executing them, offering, at one time, a reward for one man to be hangman of another, threatening his life on refusal, and taking from his prisoners the little property their opportunities enabled them to acquire," and "that the prisoner Lamothe, was a captain of volunteer scalping parties of Indians and whites who went from time to time, under general orders to spare neither men, women or children." They therefore advise the gover-

nor that Henry Hamilton and Phillip Dejean and William Lamothe were fit subjects on whom to begin the work of retaliation, and that they be "put in irons, confined in a dungeon of the public jail, debarred the use of pen, ink and paper, and excluded all converse, except with their keeper." While at Detroit Dejean had held all the civil offices worth holding, recorder, notary, justice, auctioneer, receiver of public moneys and judge, and Judge Campbell says the man must have been very virtuous or very subservient to get control of all these offices. It seems very probable that it was subserviency and not virtue that kept Dejean in office, for even Hamilton, who was mixed up with him in so many questionable transactions, despised him, and in one of his official reports says that Dejean was on his way to Vincennes with letters and papers for him (Hamilton) when he was captured by Col. Clarke, and that Mr. "Dejean heard that he had fallen into the hands of the rebels, but he had not sufficient presence of mind to destroy the papers." The prisoners were kept in close confinement for some months, when a form of oath was submitted to them, on the taking of which they were to be released on parole. Dejean and Lamothe took the oath and were set at liberty, but Hamilton refused and was kept a close prisoner until Gen. Washington wrote a letter to Thomas Jefferson suggesting that it was not a proper mode of warfare to manacle and confine prisoners of war. Hamilton was exchanged in 1781 and went to New York.

Meanwhile copies of the indictment of the grand jury of Montreal had been forwarded by Gen. Haldimand to Lord George Germain in October, 1778, with the ex-

planation that although Hamilton has been irregular in some of the proceedings alluded to in the presentments, still "I am well convinced he acted with the best intentions for the king's service, and the security of that part of the province committed to his immediate charge." This explanation seemed sufficient for Lord George; all he could ask was that officials should look out for the interests of the government, and a little thing like the hanging of two or three parties without any warrant was of no great consequence, so he wrote back to Haldimand, April 16, 1779, "the presentments of the grand jury at Montreal against Lieut.-Gen. Hamilton and Mr. Dejean are expressive of a greater degree of jealousy than the transaction complained of, in the then circumstances of the province, appear to warrant; such stretches of authority are, however, only to be excused by unavoidable necessity and the justness and fitness of the occasion." Hamilton and Dejean were so unpopular that the news of their capture was received with great rejoicing at Detroit, and Col. Clarke desired to push on and capture the place, and probably would have taken it if he had had more troops. He wrote, April 29, 1779, that if he had 300 good men he would attempt to take Detroit, as he had learned that there "could have been no doubt of success, as by some gentlemen, lately from that post, we are informed that the town and country kept three days in feasting and diversions on hearing of my success against Mr. Hamilton." The news of Hamilton's disaster spread rapidly through the province and was as disheartening to the British as it was encouraging to the Americans. Haldimand accused him of going

off without receiving either his orders or permission, and termed his expedition a second "tour de Burgoyne," which had the most vexatious consequences. "There seems to be a fatality accompanying the enterprise." From all the Canadian posts and from London came letters of complaint and regret, filled with expressions of fear as to the ultimate result of the disaster. The Indians were disheartened and were seeking to make peace with the Americans, and it was even published as an item of news in London that Col. Crockett reported "that Col. Clarke had taken Fort Detroit, made 250 prisoners, and reduced that country. His informant saw some of the prisoners." The anxiety of the garrison at Detroit was not diminished by a very cordial message received by Capt. Lernoult from Col. Clarke, which Clarke sent up by some of the paroled prisoners, in which he desired Lernoult to present the compliments of his officers to those in the Detroit garrison, and expressed himself well satisfied with the new works going on at the new fort, "as it will save the Americans some expenses in building."

FORT LERNOULT.

Hamilton still remained governor of Detroit, notwithstanding his absence, and so continued until Jehu Hay was appointed his successor after the close of the war. The military command remained in Capt. Lernoult, who seems to have been an efficient and able commandant. Heldimand directed Bolton, who was in command of Niagara, to send reinforcements to Detroit, and in April, 1779, he dispatched 100 men for that purpose.

There were then in the garrison 120 persons, including officers. Fears were entertained for the safety of the post, and as the Indians could not be depended on, small parties were sent out from all the Canadian forts to harass the Americans and prevent concerted action on their part if possible. The defenses at Detroit had long been considered inadequate, and when it was found that the Americans were coming westward; when Clarke had taken Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and Hamilton had gone down to meet him, Lernoult concluded it was about time some preparations were being made to protect the post. We will let Capt. Henry Bird tell the story of the new fort, in his own language, merely mentioning that the new fort, called Lernoult after the commandant, was situated on the site of Detroit's new postoffice. "Late in the fall of 1778 we were alarmed by the approach of the enemy under Broadhead, who with, 2,000 or 3,000 men, had actually advanced as far as Tuscarawas, about ninety miles from the lake at lower Sandusky, and were employed in building a large picketed fort. Maj. Lernoult at a conversation with the officers at Detroit, on the above alarm, concluded Detroit incapable of making a defense that might reflect honor on the defendants, it being of great extent only picketed, and in a manner under a hill. By his orders on the same evening I traced a redoubt on the hill; the plan was left to me. I at first intended only a square (our time as we imagined being but short for fortifying ourselves), but when the square was marked out it appeared to me so naked and insufficient that I added the half bastions, imagining if the enemy approached before the curtains were com-

pleted we might make tolerable defense by closing the bastions at the gorge. So perfect a work as one with entire bastions for so small a number of defendants, four or five six-pounders very ill furnished, and no artillery officers, and an attack expected in a few weeks, was what I never would have engaged to have undertaken: We began, I think, early in November, and worked without intermission until February, at which time the Indians declared an intention of attacking Col. Broadhead's posts of 400, then at Tuscarawas. I joined them. In the meantime Lieut. Duvernott returned from Post Vincent and was appointed engineer." The enterprise and activity of Lernoult was appreciated by Haldimand, who wrote in April, that he is happy that so important a post as Detroit has been intrusted to so careful and diligent an officer and that he would send his aide-de-camp, Capt. Brehm, on a tour of inspection to all the posts of the upper country. Bird had started off southward, as he says in his reports, but poor success attended him. He had collected about 200 savages at Mingo Town, mostly Shawanese, when a runner arrived with information that the rebels had attacked and beaten back another band of Shawanese, and thereupon news flew "that all the towns were to be attacked, and our little body separated in an instant, past reassembling; confusion still prevails; much counseling; no resolves; many are for moving, more for peace. The Indians are always cooking or counselling." Bird's reports were only the experience of every other man of the time. Detroit was capable of supplying the garrison with provisions in times of peace, but Hamilton had carried off so much with him on his expedition that

everything in the line of provisions was very scarce and very high; a pair of oxen were worth 1,000 livres, and flour was 60 livres a hundred.

SITUATION OF DETROIT IN 1779.

We have seen that Capt. Brehm had been sent to the upper posts to make reports of their condition. From his various letters we find that 200 new reinforcements had come to Detroit before May 28, 1779, and their arrival had a good effect on the Indians, who were getting insolent and almost daring in their behavior because Lernoult could not carry out with them the promises made by Hamilton. The French could not be depended on and needed watching as much as the Indians. The French, Spaniards, Germans and Americans had all joined together and were sending messages among the Indians asking them to join them and drive the English out of the country. The new fort was much advanced towards completion, and for it Capt. Lernoult wanted an iron 18-pounder for a long range, as the new fort commanded the ground about it for a great distance. "Affairs are very critical and the place may be attacked at any time. Capt. Bird, of the Eighth Regiment, is at Upper Sandusky, and 200 Chanees have gone to join him. Capt. Lernoult is engaged in building a covered way around the works, has finished a bomb proof magazine and store house, and is now making barracks for officers and men. The daily consumption of rum has been forty gallons per day, but the number of Indians has increased, so that it is necessary to have sixty gallons per day." The last of these reports is dated July 27, 1779, and is

written from Niagara, where Capt. Brehm had arrived on his return trip. He says: "Lernoult wishes 100 more men and with them he will undertake to defend the town, or old fort, and not abandon and burn it in case of an attack." The rumor of disaffection among the French at Detroit had so excited Haldimand that he directed Lernoult to arrest all the guilty parties, and send them down to Niagara at once. Acting under this warrant, depositions were collected concerning several of those living in the vicinity of Detroit, but we have no evidence that any were sent down to Niagara; probably the depositions taken by Lernoult had the effect to persuade them to remain true to the British government, or at least to keep quiet.

On the 28th of August, 1779, Lernoult was informed that he was promoted to the rank of Major, and on the same day was directed to surrender up to De Peyster the command of the post and repair at once to Niagara upon DePeyster's arrival. DePeyster, in turn, was directed to give to Gov. Sinclair all information he could respecting Michillimackinac, and then to leave that post in his charge and take command of Detroit. On the 11th of November following, Lernoult was again promoted, this time to the rank of adjutant-general." Accompanying the letter to DePeyster, notifying him of his removal to Detroit, is another letter from Haldimand, which gives us some idea of what the powers of a Lieutenant-governor really were. Patrick Sinclair held the rank of Captain in the army, and had been appointed lieutenant-governor and superintendent of the post of Michillimackinac, Haldimand writes: "From a letter of

Lord George Germain to Capt. Sinclair, wherein he styles him commandant of the post, he conceives he is entitled to military command, which is not expressed in his commission, it being exactly similar to that of Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton; he therefore goes to his government vested with the same powers."

We know that Hamilton exercised the power of marrying Dr. Anthon and perhaps others, but we also know that DePeyster, while military commandant at Detroit, without any claim to civil command, exercised the same powers by marrying Thomas Williams to Cecile Campau (sister of the late Joseph Campau), according to the forms of the established church. We know, also, that Haldimand was not permitted to do as he pleased in the citadel of Detroit, though at the time, it was under command of a lieutenant, and we have seen on his expedition to Vincennes he was willing to serve under any officer that might be selected to head the expedition, showing that he did not claim the right of leadership by virtue of his office. Sinclair complained that the commission limited his charge to the civil business of the post and supervision of the Indian department, but Haldimand remarked that the commission was similar to Hamilton's, and did not savor in the least of a military appointment, and he could not enlarge its terms.

THE POST UNDER DE PEYSTER.

Arent Schuyler DePeyser, who came to take command of Detroit in October, 1779, was born in New York in 1736 and was now 43 years of age. He had entered the army when 19 years of age, and when transferred

to Detroit, bore the rank of colonel. He found the new fort in good condition, though not completed. The first dispatch which DePeyster made, and which he sent down with the departing Lernoult, gave Haldimand the encouraging information that Simon Girty and his Indians had defeated Col. Rogers on the Ohio. The second official dispatch of DePeyster was to Capt. McKee, of Shawanese Towns, requesting him to procure from the Indians a woman, Peggy West,, and her daughter Nancy, a girl of 12, who had been for some time captives of the Monsey Indians. The instance shows that while he was a rough soldier, accustomed to rough treatment, in constant association with the Indians and frontier soldiers of a similar disposition, he had a heart, and it was found to be in its proper situation. "If, sir," he writes to McKee, "it is possible to find the mother and the other sister, I will not spare expense. Please, therefore, to employ some active people to go in search of them, assuring the Indians of a good price, and my grateful acknowledgment." Thomas Williams had been acting as justice of peace under the appointment from Lernoult, and had awaited a proper commission from Haldimand; the commission arrived a few days after DePeyster came, but no one was here authorized to qualify the new officer as the dedimus had been directed to Lernoult, and he had gone down to Montreal, and both Williams and DePeyster were compelled to act in an informal way till the proper papers came. Early in the spring of 1779 Washington had directed Col. Daniel Brodhead to detach 100 men and proceed northward from Fort Pitt through the Indian country, but in April he changed the plans and

directed Broadhead to chastise the western Indians by an expedition into their country, and directed him to "ascertain the most favorable season for enterprise against Detroit. The frozen season, in the opinion of most persons, is the only one in which any capital stroke can be given, as the enemy can derive no benefit from their shipping, which must either be destroyed or fall into our hands." Either the last mentioned order did not reach Brodhead or else the original order was again given to him, as he marched northward and chastised the Mingo and Monsey tribes on the Alleghany and did not come near Detroit. The situation of affairs at the west was discouraging to Haldimand, who had spent a vast quantity of money in Indian presents and given the affairs of this post unusual attention on account of its importance, and of the Canadian defection already spoken of. On September 23, 1779, the situation, as it appeared to him, is expressed in a letter to Lord Germain, as follows: "It is much to be apprehended that our Indian allies have it in contemplation to desert us, those of the western nations in the neighborhood of Detroit particularly, their former attachment to the French, the pains that have been taken by their emissaries to reclaim them, together with the unfortunate miscarriage of Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton, have strongly seemed to alienate their affections, and although they continue to profess their attachment to the king, they frame excuses for not going to war, and discover upon all occasions an indifference which indicates their intention to forsake us. Detroit is likewise menaced by the Virginians; they have made great advances and have established posts of commun-

cation in that country. From every information that has been received it would appear that an expedition against Detroit is certainly intended under the command of a Col. Clarke, who retook Vincennes." Count D'Estaing had in October, 1778, issued a proclamation in the name of France, to "all the ancient French of North America," calling upon them to assist the United States in its contest with Great Britain, and promising, in the name of his king, "who has authorized and so commanded me," that all his former subjects in North America, who will not acknowledge any longer, the supremacy of Great Britain, may depend upon his protection and support." This proclamation was printed, and copies of it in great numbers were scattered everywhere among the Canadians in the west; one of the copies fell into the hands of Lernoult and was by him sent to Haldimand in the fall of 1779, and by Haldimand was forwarded to Germain with the remark that it had "had a very marked effect among the French Indians there." A few days later Haldimand urged upon Germain the necessity of employing 1,000 to 1,500 more men for the preservation of the upper country and fur trade, and regretted that some step had not been taken to make Detroit self-sustaining, by raising its own stock and provisions. Ile aux Cochons, the present Belle Island park of the city of Detroit, had for some years been in possession of Capt. McDougall under a claim of ownership, partly by grant from the Indians and partly by confirmation of the privy council of Great Britain, and this suggestion of Haldimand that Detroit raise its own provisions, had direct reference to the island. The village claimed that the island was a

commons, and that neither McDougall nor any other private individual could obtain a personal right to it. McDougall had recently died, leaving a widow and two sons. Efforts were made on the part of the family to retain the property, but they were not, for the present, successful, and although ultimately the complete title to the property became vested in McDougall's descendants, and so remained until the sale in recent years to the city for a park, its possession was now taken in the name of the government and the buildings and improvements were appraised and their value offered to the family of Capt. McDougall, but the tender was refused.

The winter of 1779 was a very severe one of unexampled rigor over all North America, and it seems nothing was done at Detroit in the way of warlike preparation.

LOCAL AFFAIRS AT DETROIT.

At Detroit, affairs had not been entirely at a standstill during the year. The inability of the British government to supply all the requirements of the Indians and the persistence of the Americans in refusing to accept terms of peace unless their independence was recognized, had alike disheartened the British soldiers and the Indians. It is possible that the inhabitants, soldiers and civilians, saw the coming peace and resolved to make the most of their opportunities. The British government had never recognized a general right, either on the part of individuals or the government itself, to purchase lands from the Indians, and we find very few transfers made by the Indians before the year 1780. In some instances, as in the case mentioned of the purchase of Hog

Island, a special permit had been granted by the British authorities either at Quebec or Whitehall. When the Indians gave the Jones farm to Isidore Chene as a mark of friendship to him who had so long been a chief among them, the consent of the commandant of the post was deemed necessary to the validity of the transaction, and many other cases of like nature can be found on record; but this year the commandant, DePeyster, permitted the Indians to trade their lands off to settlers and speculators in large tracts; not only permitted it, but took a decided interest in it, and obtained for himself a grant of 5,000 acres. Great numbers of Indians claiming lands in the neighborhood would come about the post to attend the councils or to receive the trinkets and rum given to them, and their chiefs would make deeds to applicants of farms of from 150 to 200 acres, all situated near Detroit, and all now of great value. All of these deeds were drawn up by Thomas Williams, notary and justice, and were witnessed by his clerk, John Cassety. As the signing and witnessing was all that was necessary to make the deed valid, Mr. Williams wrote them out at full length in the books kept by him, which we now have. Detroit was without laws, or, rather was a law unto itself. It was a civil settlement, at present under military rule, but engaged in commercial transactions. At some period earlier than this in its history, Dejean had been appointed justice of the peace, but his authority as justice was not clearly defined. In case of disagreements between traders, or others of a commercial nature, he could not issue summons to commence suit before himself, nor could he

award judgments, as he had no power to enforce his findings, but the very nature of the situation created a new form of procedure, which was unknown elsewhere. Where controversies arose the parties jointly called upon the justice and requested him to take charge of the matter, and each contestant and the judge chose an arbitrator, and the contestants entered into bonds to abide by the result of the arbitration. When the award was made it was submitted to the commandant for his approval, and if he approved of it, it was made effectual, and was enforced by his military authority, if necessary. The person who would not abide by the decision of the arbitrators was not permitted to trade with the Indians; his furs could not be disposed of; he was an outlaw, and we have at least one case (Gerrit Graverat) where the party gave up nearly all of his possessions, amounting to a large sum of several thousand pounds, under the immediate direction of the commandant, and under the threat of DePeyster that if he did not give up his property he would be expelled from the country. In this year, 1780, it had, for the first time, been ascertained that this manner of proceeding by arbitrators, with the assistance of the justice and commandant, was not legal and was not looked upon with favor by the courts at Montreal and Quebec. The consternation of the traders and citizens was great; it seemed impossible to carry on the business without some manner of courts in which to settle their difficulties. They stood the matter as long as they could, and in March, 1781, they petitioned DePeyster for some plan for the administration of justice. "We beg," they say, "to lay before you the un-

happy situation of ourselves and others residing at this place, for want of some mode, to oblige those who are able and yet unwilling to pay their lawful debts." De-Peyster forwarded the petition to Haldimand with an earnest request "that some method might be fallen upon to make them pay their just debts." The question was agitated both at Quebec and in England, but nothing definite was done for several years, not until 1788 in fact, and meantime all the larger and more important cases were taken to Montreal for trial before the courts there, and the smaller cases were let drop.

There was no bank at Detroit, and indeed, banking as a modern institution was unknown, but the firm of Macomb, Edgar and Macomb took such drafts as were payable in Montreal and Quebec, and paid for them in cash or trade, much after the form of modern banks, and transmitted the drafts eastward for collection, where another supply of goods and rum, mostly rum, was sent in return. This firm had become so wealthy and their dealings so large that in 1780 they proposed to furnish all the goods for the Indian department at Detroit at a uniform advance of 25 per cent. on merchandise, and rum at 18s, New York currency, and they agreed that they would "advance money as usual for the payment of the other departments." This was no small undertaking for one firm.*

*Some firms issued paper money of their own. The reputation of the firm being the only criterion of value. There is no recorded instance of any of this paper money being repudiated or that any firm failed to redeem its pledges.

INDIAN PRESENTS.

The problem of providing means to purchase other goods for the Indians was a constantly recurring one, difficult to solve. The Indians could not be kept in any sort of good humor without making them presents all the time. The presents were not of an expensive kind—cheap blankets with bright colors, fancy knives, scarlet cloth, ruffled shirts, laced hats and other things of like nature, to take the eye of the natives. But the demand was so great that the expense startled alike DePeyster and Haldimand. Whenever the Indians came to the councils, the squaws would strip the entire clothing from the Indians that they might appear in destitute condition so as to be able to demand new outfits. To show the enormous amount of money squandered each year on these worthless Indians, we find the account of drafts drawn by De Peyster in one year as follows: September 8, 1780, £42,714 7s 11d; January 8, 1781, £44,562 6s 1½d; September 12, 1781, £55,225 13s 6¼d, making a total of £123,902 7s 6¾d, to which is to be added the vast quantity of goods sent up from Montreal, probably as much more in value. Haldimand said, "the frequency of these amazing demands is a matter of serious concern to me, knowing how ill they are received at home and how very trifling the service can be urged in support of them." And De Peyster, with his last draft, says, "the goods in the store at Detroit cannot last longer than till December." There was one thing the Indians demanded as a necessity. They could do without food, clothing or trinkets, but they must have rum. The immense quantities distributed by the government we have already spoken

of, but of the quantities sold by traders it is impossible to judge. About the time of the breaking out of the war the leading merchants of Detroit had formed what might be termed a "rum trust." They agreed to place all of their rum in one store and employ one or more clerks to see that it was properly disposed of, and the avails divided pro rata among the members of the trust. If any other person should undertake to sell rum in any place in the district, they would at once ship sufficient quantities to that place and undersell the intruder until he was compelled to leave. How long the agreement lasted I do not know, nor do I know what the result of the agreement was. It was not long, however, before complaints were made of the sad effects of the use upon the Indian wards. Both in England and America the curse of rum was the frequent topic of discussion in official and private correspondence, but the demand grew; it could only die with the death of the Indians. "I have dried up their tears with a barrel of rum and six fathoms of tobacco," writes a messenger who came from a meeting of discontented Indians. "I hope you will pardon the incorrectness of my letters, as I wrote with Indians on every hand, and whispering in each ear 'rum or bread,'" writes Patt. Sinclair, governor of Michillimackinac.

McKee thought the Moravians were friends to the rebels, and he urged DePeyster to remove them, and DePeyster sent word to the Hurons to bring to Detroit the six teachers and a few of the principal chiefs of the Moravians. He did not want the Moravian Indians to come to Detroit to settle as he would be compelled to sustain them.

McKee reported on October 10th that his scouts brought him information that Clark would not undertake an expedition to the north of the Kentucky and Salt Creek, in order to cover the small forts in that neighborhood. A contingent from the six nations had aided the western Indians throughout the summer, and when they were on the point of leaving, a council was called at the upper Shawanese and the western Indians thanked them publicly for the assistance rendered and at the same time told them that "nothing would be more satisfactory than to see the six nations turn their attention towards Fort Pitt as the source of all the enemy's capability to distress their country and that while the enemy are in possession of this door into it they live in neither ease nor safety."

Captains Pipe and Wingineum (both Indians) were sent by McKee to take the Moravian teachers to Detroit.

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sylvania, to each Indian town. There were 350 Indians in their mission. The teachers denied taking any part in the war or carrying on any correspondence with either side. DePeyster had contemplated keeping the teachers in Detroit, but at the request of the Delawares he permitted them to return with that tribe. DePeyster promised these Indians to give to them such things as they might need during the coming winter, but said that Haldimand would provide for them as long as they were engaged in the war, but he would not give them liquor except under proper restraints. ..

In spite of the horrors of an Indian warfare, with its base of operations here, Detroit continued to grow rapidly. A census of the district had been taken in 1773, a short time before the breaking out of the war, which showed an aggregate population of 1,357 people; white and black. Five years later, in 1778, there were 2,144 persons in the district. A census taken the following year showed a population of 2,653 (including garrison and prisoners). In 1780 there were 2,207 exclusive of prisoners and soldiers, and after peace was declared in 1783, there were 2,291 civilians, showing a net increase during the decade of 70 per cent. The Indians needed the assistance of the British at all times, and, if they could have been informed of the situation would have been urgent that peace should not be declared. The whole theory of British occupation was to keep the Indians in their proper places as hunters, and to preserve the continent for its furs. Only such parcels of land were disposed of by the government as were within or contiguous to the fortified enclosures. When the war

broke out the people in the thirteen colonies began to leave them, and proceeded westward into Kentucky, Ohio and Illinois; they took possession of the Indian's hunting grounds, and it was only by the aid of the British soldiers that they could even hope to be successful in driving them back. Unfortunately for their cause the Indians did not, possibly could not, understand the situation. They could not be kept constant to their only friends, the British.

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had been the leader of the Virginians. The burning of Crawford, which immediately followed his capture, was one of the most horrible events of this Indian war and cannot help being considered as the sequel of the bloody massacre of the Christian Indians.

Hamilton, who had not ceased to be titular lieutenant-governor of Detroit, though in fact an absentee, in prison or in England, was on April 27 appointed lieutenant-governor of Quebec, to supersede Oremache, and Jehu Hay was appointed lieutenant-governor of Detroit.

We have seen that the Moravian teachers were at Detroit, and that the remaining Indians were directed to come here also. The Chippewa Indians had granted them a tract of land on the Huron (now Clinton) river, and thither they removed, built for themselves a little village, and lived by fishing, hunting, making wooden-ware, picking cranberries and making maple sugar. They took no part in the war. Whatever things they got or produced found a ready market in Detroit. The steps taken by De Peyster in behalf of the Moravians met with the hearty approval of Haldimand. It must also have had a great effect on the other Indian tribes. De Peyster was constantly, through these years of trouble, urging the Indians to be merciful in their warfare; to kill in battle, but to spare the lives of the prisoners. At nearly every council held with the Indians we find these injunctions issued by him. His letters to McKee, Elliott, Caldwell and others all breathe the same principle. The massacre of the Christian Indians by Williamson and his company was so horribly inhuman that even the Indians were startled. De Peyster thought

that he would not longer be capable of controlling them. He wrote to McKee on the 19th. of August: "You are sensible that I have lost no opportunity to request that you would recommend humanity to the Indians. It has ever been the principle that I have acted upon, and I am convinced that no task is more agreeable to my wishes. Upon my arrival here I found the Indians greatly civilized from the good advice they received from you and my predecessors, in which disposition, by my earnest endeavors, we continued them till the imprudent step of the enemy at Muskingum called up their savage ferocity. I see they still hold their prisoners formerly taken in mild captivity, while their resentment only shows itself to those newly taken, looking upon them as a part of the people who imprudently declared by words and signs that they had come to exterminate the Wyandotte tribe."

He requests McKee to convince the Indians that the cruelty committed by them upon Col. Crawford and the two captains was the sole ground for the late invasion of their country by the whites.

De Peyster's task in undertaking to keep the Indians in proper bounds was a difficult one. Not only were the Indians cowardly, treacherous, ungrateful, not to be depended on in case of emergency, not to be depended on even when alone and apparently their own masters, but they were, upon occasions when they thought they could be with safety to themselves, haughty, overbearing and almost rebellious in their actions with the commandant. This spirit De Peyster was continually forced to meet, and he stemmed the current or turned it aside with considerable skill. Toward the end of 1782, when there were

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of, but of the quantities sold by traders it is impossible to judge. About the time of the breaking out of the war the leading merchants of Detroit had formed what might be termed a "rum trust." They agreed to place all of their rum in one store and employ one or more clerks to see that it was properly disposed of, and the avails divided pro rata among the members of the trust. If any other person should undertake to sell rum in any place in the district, they would at once ship sufficient quantities to that place and undersell the intruder until he was compelled to leave. How long the agreement lasted I do not know, nor do I know what the result of the agreement was. It was not long, however, before complaints were made of the sad effects of the use upon the Indian wards. Both in England and America the curse of rum was the frequent topic of discussion in official and private correspondence, but the demand grew; it could only die with the death of the Indians. "I have dried up their tears with a barrel of rum and six fathoms of tobacco," writes a messenger who came from a meeting of discontented Indians. "I hope you will pardon the incorrectness of my letters, as I wrote with Indians on every hand, and whispering in each ear 'rum or bread,'" writes Patt. Sinclair, governor of Michillimackinac.

McKee thought the Moravians were friends to the rebels, and he urged DePeyster to remove them, and DePeyster sent word to the Hurons to bring to Detroit the six teachers and a few of the principal chiefs of the Moravians. He did not want the Moravian Indians to come to Detroit to settle as he would be compelled to sustain them.

McKee reported on October 10th that his scouts brought him information that Clark would not undertake an expedition to the north of the Kentucky and Salt Creek, in order to cover the small forts in that neighborhood. A contingent from the six nations had aided the western Indians throughout the summer, and when they were on the point of leaving, a council was called at the upper Shawanees and the western Indians thanked them publicly for the assistance rendered and at the same time told them that "nothing would be more satisfactory than to see the six nations turn their attention towards Fort Pitt as the source of all the enemy's capability to distress their country and that while the enemy are in possession of this door into it they live in neither ease nor safety."

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happy situation of ourselves and others residing at this place, for want of some mode, to oblige those who are able and yet unwilling to pay their lawful debts." De-Peyster forwarded the petition to Haldimand with an earnest request "that some method might be fallen upon to make them pay their just debts." The question was agitated both at Quebec and in England, but nothing definite was done for several years, not until 1788 in fact, and meantime all the larger and more important cases were taken to Montreal for trial before the courts there, and the smaller cases were let drop.

There was no bank at Detroit, and indeed, banking as a modern institution was unknown, but the firm of Macomb, Edgar and Macomb took such drafts as were payable in Montreal and Quebec, and paid for them in cash or trade, much after the form of modern banks, and transmitted the drafts eastward for collection, where another supply of goods and rum, mostly rum, was sent in return. This firm had become so wealthy and their dealings so large that in 1780 they proposed to furnish all the goods for the Indian department at Detroit at a uniform advance of 25 per cent. on merchandise, and rum at 18s, New York currency, and they agreed that they would "advance money as usual for the payment of the other departments." This was no small undertaking for one firm.*

*Some firms issued paper money of their own. The reputation of the firm being the only criterion of value. There is no recorded instance of any of this paper money being repudiated or that any firm failed to redeem its pledges.

INDIAN PRESENTS.

The problem of providing means to purchase other goods for the Indians was a constantly recurring one, difficult to solve. The Indians could not be kept in any sort of good humor without making them presents all the time. The presents were not of an expensive kind—cheap blankets with bright colors, fancy knives, scarlet cloth, ruffled shirts, laced hats and other things of like nature, to take the eye of the natives. But the demand was so great that the expense startled alike DePeyster and Haldimand. Whenever the Indians came to the councils, the squaws would strip the entire clothing from the Indians that they might appear in destitute condition so as to be able to demand new outfits. To show the enormous amount of money squandered each year on these worthless Indians, we find the account of drafts drawn by De Peyster in one year as follows: September 8, 1780, £42,714 7s 11d; January 8, 1781, £44,562 6s 1½d; September 12, 1781, £55,225 13s 6¾d, making a total of £123,902 7s 6¾d, to which is to be added the vast quantity of goods sent up from Montreal, probably as much more in value. Haldimand said, "the frequency of these amazing demands is a matter of serious concern to me, knowing how ill they are received at home and how very trifling the service can be urged in support of them." And De Peyster, with his last draft, says, "the goods in the store at Detroit cannot last longer than till December." There was one thing the Indians demanded as a necessity. They could do without food, clothing or trinkets, but they must have rum. The immense quantities distributed by the government we have already spoken

request him to supply the wants of their women and children, who were almost naked; but the supplies had not come at the last of June. "Heavens!" De Peyster writes, "if goods do not arrive soon, what will become of me? I have lost several stoneweight of flesh within these twenty days." The Indians complained that they were always ready to fight for the English, and now, they said, "we are informed that, instead of prosecuting the war, we are to give our lands to the enemy, which gives us great uneasiness; in endeavoring to assist you it seems we have brought our own ruin." De Peyster could only thank them for their past services, inform them that peace had been declared, but that he did not know on what terms, and promised to give them whatever goods came up from below. The commandant wrote on the last of June that the Indians came in from all quarters. "To avoid a too numerous council I have invited four of each nation to meet me about the beginning of July, but it seems that whole villages had set out on their journey for that purpose before my strings could reach them; impatient to know what is to become of them and their lands and to request a supply of goods so long promised them." The Wabash Indians, he said, were very impertinent, "using expressions not proper to be committed to paper." On the first day of May, 1783, Congress requested the Secretary of War to take the most effective measures to inform the Indians that preliminary articles of peace had been agreed upon and hostilities had ceased with Great Britain, and the Secretary sent Maj. Ephraim Douglass to carry out the instructions of Congress. It was generally understood that as soon as peace was

declared, the posts of Detroit and Niagara would at once be surrendered to the United States, and consequently that any delegate from Congress might properly, at this time, go among the Indians for any peaceful purpose, but the English did not propose to surrender the posts at all, if they could help it, and certainly not now. British interests were not favorable to treaties of peace between the Americans and the Indians. Douglass proceeded westward as far as Sandusky without meeting the Indians in general council. At the invitation of Captain Pipe, an Indian chief, he accompanied him to Detroit, expecting there to meet several tribes of Indians in council, to whom he could explain his errand. A further invitation was extended to him by De Peyster, but De Peyster requested him not to enter into any negotiations with the Indians until after his arrival in Detroit.

On the 4th. day of July, 1783, the first representative of the United States government, in the person of Maj. Ephraim Douglass, entered Detroit. He was cordially received by Maj. De Peyster, but while the latter professed the strongest desire to bring about terms of peace between the new government and the Indians, he would not permit Douglass to address them nor to inform them that the boundary lines of the United States would include this district.

At the Indian council held at Detroit on the 6th. day of July, there were present chiefs of eleven nations, extending as far south as the Wabash, the Chippewas, Ottawas, Wyandottes or Hurons, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Oweohtanoos, Miamis, Pottowattamies, Pienkishas and Senecas.

The Indians knew of the presence of Douglass and his errand. They were greatly pleased that peace was declared, and surrounded his lodging all day when he was at home and lined the streets to attend him on his going abroad, "that they might have," he writes, "an opportunity of seeing and saluting me, which they did not fail to do in their best manner, with every demonstration of joy." In the absence of instructions from higher authority, De Peyster refused to permit Douglass to negotiate with the Indians, and on the 7th., at the request of De Peyster, Douglass set out for Niagara, where he was accorded the same treatment as at Detroit, and was compelled to return home without having accomplished anything of importance. Thus the Indians were left in almost total ignorance of the intention of the new government to them. They could not know whether they were recognized in the treaty or whether they might consider the United States as a friend or foe.

The summer passed away without further matters of interest on the frontier, other than the dissatisfaction of the Indians regarding the treaty. They agreed, at the urgent and repeated requests of McKee, who was at Sandusky, to abstain from further incursions and to set their prisoners at liberty. They claimed that it was understood they were to keep their prisoners "to strengthen their nation." They were apprehensive of the designs of the Americans on their lands north of the Ohio, but McKee was able to keep them in pretty good humor, and the summer wore away and the fall came. On the 3rd of September, 1783, the final treaty of peace was signed; the United States was a nation in the eyes of all the world; the revolution was at an end.

DETROIT IN ITS RELATION TO THE NORTH-WEST.

By Hon. T. W. Palmer.

Memorial days are dear to the heart of mankind. Originating, possibly, in some day, annually recurring, when the sky, the air, and the soil joined in a promise of plenty to be almost always fulfilled, it became an anniversary to be anticipated with delight, to be celebrated with rejoicing, to be regarded with affection. As man's spiritual and sentimental nature developed, events which enlarged his mental horizon were honored, and incidents which were regarded as of exceptional importance in his moral advance commemorated. They have become part of our civilization, the monuments by which we consciously or unconsciously measure and classify time.

They may be annual, biennial, or even at longer stated periods. They may be social, secular, religious or political, but, in any case, they enrich our lives by giving to memories a local habitation and a name, and as long as gratitude dwells in the heart of man and reverence is a part of his nature, he will always accept the pious task of garnishing these memorial days with traditions and fond recollections. They have a practical as well as a sentimental value. They stand as focal

points around which recollections cluster and where men and women, by sympathetic celebration, come to have a common reverence for things which would otherwise be vague and be regarded but carelessly.

Infused with such sentiments, our people have fixed upon the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of our city as a time when we should halt in our eager strife towards the future, and from the happy vantage ground of today look back upon the generations which have come and gone since the white man made the banks of the Detroit river his home.

There are no ties among people more binding than common traditions, common memories, and common reverence for the past. Some may say that these are not our traditions, that they belong to the descendants of those to whom they relate, but to me they are the traditions of every citizen of this town. The Umbrian or the Gaul on becoming citizens of Rome, cherished the story of Horatius at the Bridge and Virginius in the Market Place as dearly as though he and they had been of common blood, and that his ancestors had been actors in those soul-stirring dramas.

These legends had been interwoven in the life of a city. The heroism and the self-sacrifice of the deeds recited made them the common property of all who loved Rome. And so in our case all the work done; all the valor displayed; all the suffering endured and steadfastness called forth; all the self sacrifice shown, to which many men have contributed, some to live in history, others to pass into oblivion, were done for us. Myriads of heroes are not gazetted, but they are none the less

heroes. Comparatively few who have striven for this empire will be remembered in name. While the waves of the ocean are doing their work unceasingly and beneficently, it is only a tidal wave, at remote intervals, carrying destruction in its path, calling for the highest virtues among men to prevent or remedy its ravages, which evokes the interest of the historian or rivets the attention of posterity. Yea, more than this, this winning of an empire calls for the celebration of the devotion and heroism of those men whose acts antedated the foundation of our city, but who contributed to it and were a part of the story of the building of the great Northwest.

The dream that inspired Magellan to follow every river to the west, until its waters became fresh, with the hope of finding a passage to Cathay, was the dream that for one hundred years nerved the arm of every French explorer as he measured mile after mile with the stroke of his paddle.

Why was the founding of Detroit so long delayed? Two-thirds of a century before Cadillac built his stockade, the Missions of St. Ignace, Mackinaw, and Sault Ste. Marie had been established. Marquette and LaSalle had finished their work and passed into history. The situation of the future town was delightful. The climate was more attractive than that of the missions at the Straits, and yet there were no settlements on the Detroit River, save those of the red men.

The answer seems to me plain. The leading men among the French in America were not colonizers, but traders and hunters. The missionary came first. He

knew that his work for the salvation and education of the Indian brought its richest harvest when undisturbed by the presence of an alien race, so he did nothing to encourage settlers. After the missionary, came the trader, and he, too, desired no competition in his dealings with the Indians, and no settlements to dispute and encroach on his domain of the forest. The one came to save souls, the other to barter in furs. The mission served to blaze the way for the trading post.

The first explorers came up the Ottawa River, crossed over to Georgian Bay, thence to Lake Huron and up to the north and west, ever seeking the new route to China. Thus were founded the missions at Sault Ste. Marie, Point St. Ignace, and Mackinaw, and later on those on Lake Superior and in Illinois. Cut off from Lakes Ontario and Erie by the hostility of the Iroquois Indians, the earliest missionaries took their route to Lake Huron and Lake Superior through the Ottawa River and portages.

In 1700, De Callieres made a treaty between the French and their allies on the one side and the Iroquois on the other, by which the French secured peace and permission to trade with all the tribes from the English border to the Mississippi, and also the possession of the line of lakes. Just what the English borders were, was not, and from the nature of the case, could not be clearly defined, for the Saxon was slowly but surely pushing to the west. All this was 70 years before any English speaking white man had made his home west of the Ohio river.

There are several routes from the great lakes to the Mississippi marked out by LaSalle, Marquette and others, but the one for which the French and English were to contend was the one, which, bounded on the south and east, the North West Territory. It ran from Presque Isle, now the City of Erie, over a portage of fifteen miles to the head of French Creek, at Waterford in Pennsylvania, and thence down this stream to the Alleghany and Ohio Rivers. Forts, posts or trading stations, built for the protection of the traders and to secure ascendancy over the Indians, were established all along the route.

All this vast stretch of territory, which the French were anxious to control, called for a base of supplies, and Detroit came into being. Cadillac, with a missionary, soldiers and colonists, was sent out in 1701 to found a post on the Detroit River. The French instinct and purpose was for trade. The farmer had little or no place in their scheme. The terms of one of Cadillac's land grants will prove this most conclusively. "The grantee was to pay a rent of 15 livres a year to the Crown forever; to improve the grant within three months of the date of contract; to suspend a May Pole on May Day of each year in front of the manor house; to make fences for his grant in a prescribed manner and to assist in making his neighbors' fences. He was forbidden to buy or sell merchandise carried to and from Montreal through servants, clerks, or foreigners, or to work directly or indirectly for ten years at the business of blacksmith, locksmith, armourer or brewer, or to sell brandy to the Indians." The Crown reserved the property of all min-

erals and of timber for military purposes. The grantor reserved the rights of hunting rabbits, hares, partridges, and pheasants and the right to grind all the grain raised on the land, receiving a toll therefor. On any sale of land, a tax was levied and the grantor reserved the right to purchase the land at the price offered by the prospective purchaser."

Under such circumstances agriculture could not flourish and the citizens around Detroit, as well as most of the French posts, were driven to trading, hunting and fishing. The English, on the contrary, were a race of farmers and when the crucial test came, the man fighting for his home won. The French had the greater influence with the Indians. Their polite, suave ways and the deference they paid the individual savage, gave them a power with the Indians which the English never acquired. Again, the French, influenced by their priests, had more conscience in selling rum to the Indians, and this had a tendency to affect the chiefs in their favor. Notwithstanding all the drawbacks, however, a colony sprang up around the fort and flourished. The garrison became a conning tower over the vast territory now included in the limits of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, particularly over that part between Lake Erie and the Ohio River upon which the English pioneers were advancing, through Pennsylvania and Virginia. The settlers around the post became traders, hunters, couriers du bois, and voyageurs. The traders were thrifty, the other three were not. The latter lived lives of alternate luxury and privation. They were brave, hardy, enduring, resourceful, long-suffering and

unrepining. For one hundred and fifty years they were a part of our civilization and part of the prosperity of the Northwest. They threaded every part of the forest; they ascended every stream. They crossed every portage; they befriended and were befriended by the Indians. Their pirogues and batteaux were the best means of travel and transportation, and as agents of communication between the different posts, they were swift, faithful and reliable.

It is a curious fact that the first meeting of the French and English on the Mississippi was at the mouth of that river, at a point known to this day as "The English Turn," from the fact that an English vessel, unprepared for conflict, was here met by the French and told to turn back, which it accordingly did. After that, the English began to pass over the mountains from Carolina and Virginia and to stir up the Indians against the French. The post at Detroit was designed to oversee and counteract all this, and in addition to encourage kindly feelings among the Indians and thereby secure the territory to France.

It was said that in 1678, several persons went from New England as far as New Mexico, and rendered an account of their trip to the Government in Boston. In 1742, John Howard crossed the mountains of Virginia, descended the Ohio in a canoe and was taken prisoner by the French on the Mississippi. From that on, English traders plied their vocation on the Ohio.

Fearing a further advance of the British on the Ohio River line, the Governor in Canada, Gallisonniere, in 1749 sent Louis Celeron with a party of soldiers to place

plates of lead at the mouths of the rivers, entering into the Ohio from the northwest. On the plates were inscribed the claim of the French to the land. They built and garrisoned forts from Presque Isle down to the forks of the Ohio, now Pittsburg. They collected stores and cannon on the shores of Lake Erie.

In 1753, George Washington was sent to spy out the land, and found the French flag flying on the Ohio. He built a rude fort at Pittsburg, but on the 17th. day of April, 1754, it was surrendered to a much superior French force. About the 27th of May, 1754, Washington, with a small force, attacked Jumonville, about six miles from Great Meadows in Pennsylvania, killing that leader and ten of his men. The balance dispersed. This was the beginning of the Seven Years' War, so famous in European history, and it began at the Forks of the Ohio.

Pontiac, the Indian Chief, and Langlade with Indians from Detroit, participated in the defeat of Braddock in 1755, and Pontiac is said to have led the attack. (War was not declared between France and England until 1756.) In 1758, the French burned Fort Duquesne and retired. To show how thoroughly the French understood the geography of the Northwest territory, one has only to follow up their route from Kaskaskia to the foot of Lake Erie, when the capture of Fort Pitt, formerly Fort Duquesne, was contemplated. Cut off from the Ohio by the English, they paddled down the Mississippi from Kaskaskia, up the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash, up the Wabash to the Portage of Fort Wayne; carried the stores over to the Maumee post, down that river to what is now Toledo, thence along Lake Erie to Presque

Isle, thence over the portage to Fort LeBoeuf, thence down French Creek to Venango on the Alleghany River just above Fort Pitt.

Daubry was chosen to lead this expedition. He started with 1,700 French and Indians from Detroit, Illinois and the Alleghany River, but on account of the peril in which Niagara was placed by threatened attacks of the English, his force was countermarched to relieve that post and on route was attacked, routed and dispersed. On this expedition, the French had brought four hundred men and two hundred thousand pounds of flour in their canoes and batteaux from Kaskaskia, fully one thousand miles.

With the fall of Quebec, Montreal, and Niagara, the French rule ended in America, and in the fall of 1760, Detroit became a British possession and its domination was over the French and the Indians.

The French rule had been kindly and its influence over the Indians had been beneficent. They had secured the confidence of the Tribes, who looked upon them in a very different light from their successors. They recognized the fact that the French did not want their lands, but merely an opportunity to trade with them. They also knew that the English colonists were advancing in phalanxes; that they would remain, and that the result would be the extirpation of the Indian.

With that facility of adaptation which has always characterized them, the French accepted the situation, and in most part took the oath of allegiance, but it was not to be expected that their tastes, habits of thought, and loyalty to their flag could be changed in the twinkling

of an eye. The wonder to me is that they were as loyal to the British flag as they were. It can only be accounted for on the ground that the wiser of them knew the hopelessness of revolt and again, they desired no more bloodshed.

And now traders from New England and other eastern points began to flock in. They drew their goods from Hartford to Albany, thence up the Mohawk River in flat boats, then by tributary streams and portages to Lake Ontario. Coasting along the shores of that lake, they came to the Falls, and dragging their batteaux and goods around Niagara, they launched themselves on Lake Erie, and thence to Detroit.

This was kept up for two years, until rumors of another Indian war became rife. These rumors were the forerunners of Pontiac's Conspiracy, an event which involved many tribes, the capture of many posts and consequent massacres.

My subject does not demand a description of the siege of Detroit nor of its defense. It is or may be familiar to us all. It remained for our townsman, Mr. Chas. Moore, to follow up the subsequent career of Maj. Gladwyn, the defender of Detroit, a figure who was projected on the public eye, by his defense of this post, for a few short months, and who then passed out of one of the great dramas of history and melted away, like a dissolving view. He was a resolute and resourceful man.

Pontiac, an Ottawa Indian, was born on the Ottawa River in Canada. He must have had great traits of character to have inspired and controlled the jealousies of so many different tribes of savages, who can be gov-

erned only by personal traits. Had it not been for treachery, he would undoubtedly have captured Detroit. How such a conspiracy could have been kept secret so long, is a mystery. The story of Catherine, the Indian girl, revealing it to Gladwyn, is being discredited, and is taking its place among the myths of history. But the story of the successful defense of this post, the English defeat at Bloody Run, the chivalrous sacrifice of Dallzell, who lost his life to save a comrade, the many incidents of the siege, have made Detroit the most interesting point, historically, west of the Alleghanies.

Detroit, during the War of the Revolution, was a depot of supplies for savage warfare. It was the market for scalps. From it went forth marauding parties to wage war on the settlements on the Ohio, who returning brought in prisoners, scalps of men, women and children and such booty as would bear transportation. Everything was done to conciliate the Indians and hold them in readiness for forays on the Ohio River settlements. Every tribe that could be enlisted to take up the tomahawk, received favors from Detroit, goods, gew gaws, rum and money and when visiting here, were entertained in the most lavish manner. The town was a freebooters' lair under government auspices, with this difference, that at Detroit, every murder committed upon the Americans was paid for on evidence of the fact, the golden hair of a child, the long tresses of a woman, or the scalp of a man. When paid for, the scalps were thrown into cellar of the Council House, and when this cellar was opened up, over two thousand were found therein.

In Mr. Silas Farmer's admirable work, *The History of Detroit*, to which I am indebted for many facts, I find in an inventory made for supplies at Detroit for Indian presents for the last year of the Revolutionary war sixty gross of scalping knives. Think of it! Eight thousand six hundred and forty scalping knives just for one year, in addition to all that had been supplied before. There were also five hundred tomahawks on the list. Prisoners from young girls to old men were compelled to run amuck, enduring blows and wounds, happy, if at last, they reached the end of the line alive. Col. Byrd of the Eighth regiment, with a part of his regiment and the Indians placed under him, took part in the foray and massacre at Wyoming. Since the infamous Hamilton would pay for scalps but give them nothing for prisoners, the Indians would make the latter carry all the booty to within a short distance of the fort, and would then murder and scalp them to get the bounty. The practice was continued under De Peyster, not, I believe, with his encouragement, but because he could not help it. It was estimated that not less than three thousand persons were scalped and made prisoners from 1783 to 1790 by bands from Detroit, and that, too, in a time of professed peace. We may imagine how many were brought in in time of war, preceding 1783. In 1778, Governor Hamilton writes: Indians have brought in twenty-three prisoners alive, twenty of which they have presented to me." What became of the other three? Were they tortured to death? At that same time, they presented the Governor with one hundred and twenty-nine scalps. In a letter of Sept. 17th, 1778, he states that "since May

last the Indians in this district have taken thirty-six prisoners, seventeen of whom they have delivered up, together with eighty-one scalps." How many of the nineteen prisoners were tortured?

Before starting out on their forays, the tomahawks of the Indians were passed through the Governor's hands as a dedication to their murderous work. The employment of the Indians and the encouragement of their barbaric methods is a dark stain upon the British Government, and is another instance of the Cabinet of that Government not representing the British people. The number sacrificed in this inhuman warfare can only be guessed at, but it must have been very large, and all to no purpose. It was manifest destiny that the race, pouring through the gorges of the Alleghanies, was bound to possess the valley of the Ohio.

There were two agencies, however, that contributed to this consummation to such a degree that together they may be called decisive. They were George Rogers Clark, a Virginian, who wielded the arm of the flesh, and Zeisberger, a poor Moravian missionary, who wielded the arm of the spirit.

Gov. Hamilton, whom Clark designated as the "Hair Buyer," for his bounty to the Indians for scalps, became ambitious for military fame, and he marched from Detroit to Vincennes, an old French post in the hands of the Americans, about three hundred miles south of Detroit, in the present State of Indiana. He arrived there Dec. 17th., 1778. There were but two men in the fort, but Capt. Helm, one of the occupants, put a cannon at its gate and, standing with a lighted fuse, assured Gov. Ham-

ilton that no one should enter until he knew the terms. Helm demanded that his force should march out with the honors of war. This Hamilton conceded, and out marched Helm and his lone comrade in single file, with all their colors flying. This was the end of Hamilton's military career.

George Rogers Clark, one of those great men, who without a military education become great commanders, while a surveyor in Kentucky had recognized the importance of the North West in its relation to the Colonies. He had successfully defended the Kentucky settlements and his scheme for taking possession of the Illinois country, ceded to the British by the French, being approved by the Governor of Virginia, Clark was appointed Lieutenant Colonel and authorized to raise troops. With little or no money, part of the time without food, he marched from the falls of the Ohio near Louisville and took Kaskaskia by surprise. The other French villages also surrendered without a struggle. On February 7, 1779, Clark with a little company of one hundred and seventy men, started to capture Vincennes, then held by Hamilton and the British. Two companies of the men were recruited from the Frenchmen of Kaskaskia and Cohokia. After great hardship, the army reached the little Wabash on the 13th. From here to Vincennes, which they reached on the 18th, the march was made, part of the time through water from two to four feet deep, and in some places the water reached to their necks. Clark demanded the surrender of the Fort at discretion which, after some parley, was conceded. Hamilton and his secretary were sent to Virginia and kept there in

irons for over a year, when the irons were taken off, at the intercession of Washington.

Some have tried to palliate the crimes of Hamilton, but his character was summed up by the Moravian missionary, Heckerwelder, a man of calm, judicial mind, who characterized him as a ruffian. His crimes would have justified his execution on the ground that he incited the Indians to the murder of innocent women and children in violation of all rules of civilized warfare. His name is infamous.

George Rogers Clark was one of the most remarkable men that this country ever produced. His conception of the situation and the relative importance of different points, their strategic significance and their accessibility; his audacity in undertaking; his influence over men; his exercise of the dramatic by which he demoralized the enemy and inspired his followers; his ability to meet emergencies, his fortitude, his mental and physical endurance all stamp him as an untaught forest statesman, tactician and warrior, an essentially wise man and an unselfish patriot. To him more than to any other was due the incorporation of the Northwest into the territory of the United States. He lies in an obscure grave. 'Tis said "that not more than five persons know his place of sepulture," and but few among our countrymen know of his services to our country. A monument should be reared to his memory.

Another man, unknown to the majority of our people, was Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary who, with his co-adjutor, Heckerwelder, had led his flock to Ohio, and in the Tuscarawas Valley, had built the Christian Indian vil-

laces of Schoenbrunn, Gnaddenhutten and Salem. Zeisberger had been adopted into the Tribe of the Delawares. Through his influence and that of Heckerwelder's, that tribe had been prevented from joining the British in their war on the Americans. Had they joined them, ten thousand warriors would have been let loose on the border settlements, and the Patriot Army would have lost many a strong arm, for men would have been compelled to stay at home to defend the frontier. As it was, when the Delawares did finally succumb to British influence, their power for harm was largely gone, Burgoyne had met defeat at Saratoga, and Washington was closing in around Cornwallis at Yorktown. Knowing the influence that these Moravians exercised, DePeyster, at Detroit, ordered them brought to him. The thriving villages were broken up, and after many privations, they again located a settlement, this time on the Clinton River near Mt. Clemens. The massacre of these Christian Indians by our own people, when they returned to Muskingum after their ungathered crops, is one of the blackest stains on our fair name.

Zeisberger kept the Delawares from an English alliance at the most critical time in our history, when every man counted. For sixty-two years he toiled without pay among the Indians, subjected to peril, privation and abuse, rendering a service to our country which cannot be estimated, and now he, too, lies in an obscure grave on the Muskingum. He also should be remembered.

It can be said for DePeyster that he treated these missionaries well and discouraged as far as his orders

from the English cabinet would permit, the horrible Indian barbarities.

Many futile attempts to capture Detroit were inaugurated, but they failed for want of means.

There was one man among the partisan fighters who had their headquarters at Detroit, who from the utter depravity of his nature, achieved a measure of infamy that time cannot increase. He was an American, born in Pennsylvania, and for British gold sold himself to prey upon his neighbors and former friends. He had all the vices of an Indian with none of his virtues. He loved to invent new methods of torturing prisoners. Hate and ferocity seemed his predominant traits. Inoffensive missionaries, women and children, he followed up with the same insensate fury that he evinced toward combatants, captured in arms. He looked on and saw Col. Crawford, the friend of Washington, tortured to death, and laughed and joked with the Indians while the ordeal, which lasted four hours, went on.

When Detroit was surrendered to the Americans in 1796, this fiend, expecting retribution, plunged his horse into the river and swam across. He lies buried near Malden.

By the treaties between Great Britain and the United States, the Americans believed that the whole North West south of the Lakes was ceded to them. The British did not act in accordance with this idea.

It would seem as Benj. Franklin said: "The War of the Revolution was the war for Independence, and the War of Independence had yet to come."

The British claimed that the treaty of 1782 and 1783 was only provisional, and the forts were not given up. In 1787, the Fort at Detroit was reinforced, the works strengthened, and emissaries were busy throughout the territory, inciting the Indians to hostilities and tampering with the people of Kentucky to the end of inducing them to unite with the British and wrest Louisiana from Spain, thus anticipating Burr's conspiracies by a score of years.

Indians becoming very troublesome in Ohio, Gen. Harmer with a small army was sent against them. He was surprised and defeated near the village of the Miamis, Sept. 19, 1790, and the scalps of the Americans were paraded through the streets of Detroit, strung upon long poles. In 1791, Gen. St. Clair was sent against the savages and met defeat near the headwaters of the Wabash. The Indians in both these engagements were encouraged by the British. Negotiations were entered into with Indians, but the British influence was too strong.

Finally, Maj. Gen. Anthony Wayne, sometimes called "Mad Anthony," on account of his daring and impetuosity in battle, was sent out against them. In the meantime, Gov. Simcoe had ordered the erection of a Fort on the Miami and nearly all the available force at Detroit had been sent to strengthen that post.

At the Battle of Fallen Timbers, now Fort Wayne, Gen. Wayne administered a crushing defeat to the Indians, and as usual when in distress, the savages fled for shelter and protection to Detroit, that pirates' paradise, where murder was paid for in money.

The red men becoming distrustful of the capacity of the British to protect them, and the English on their part seeing that the holding of these posts meant another war, conceded the line as now established between the United States and Canada east of the Mississippi, and on the 11th of July, 1796, the town was surrendered to the Americans. During all the time between 1776 and 1796, most of the French had been in sympathy with the Americans.

Notwithstanding peace had been declared, the British continued their intrigues with the Indians in our Territory, until finally General Henry Harrison proceeded against the savages and defeated them at the Battle of Tippecanoe.

There was one man in command at Detroit in 1797 who had a most remarkable career, but because he was a villain and a conspirator, he has been consigned to oblivion. I do not know that I am right in mentioning him now, even for the purpose of showing his rascality. His name was Wilkinson. He was born in Benedict, Maryland, in 1757. He enlisted in the Revolutionary Army in 1775 and soon getting a Captain's commission, became intimate with Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr. He was in Arnold's expedition to Canada in 1775, afterwards was made a Major and appointed to the staff of General Gates. He was in the Conway Cabal against Washington and his career in the Patriot Army was full of trickery. After the Revolutionary War, he emigrated to Kentucky and for \$2,000 a year and the privilege of a trading commission on the Mississippi, he sold himself and his country, as far as he could sell it, to the Spanish

Government, who then held possession of that stream. By the use of Spanish gold and glittering promises, Wilkinson nearly secured control of the Constitutional Convention of Kentucky, which was to meet in 1778. His intrigues were discovered and defeated. Notwithstanding his record, he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel in the American Army in 1791, on the ground that he was less dangerous in the Army than unemployed. He was in treasonable communication with the Spanish officials down to 1800. He was with Gen. Wayne when he was Commandant at Detroit, and during all that time he was in communication through special agents with the Spanish authorities, and was on the pay roll of that Government. He was made a Brigadier General and on the death of Gen. Wayne in 1796, assumed supreme command of the American Army. He was made Governor of Louisiana in 1805 and in the fall of that year, he betrayed Burr's Conspiracy, looking to a South Western Empire, to the American Government. He was undoubtedly a co-conspirator with Burr and betrayed him. In 1811, he was tried for complicity in the plot but was acquitted for lack of evidence, which proof afterward appeared in his published correspondence and showed his guilt conclusively. He was afterward a Major General, but he made no reputation during the War of 1812. That a man could pursue such a career of intrigue, treachery, and double dealing in high public positions, when he was suspected by so many, is difficult of belief. Like many another unconvicted criminal, he died in his bed, but the fact that he was a resident of Mexico, would indicate

that he had found a residence in his own country unpleasant.

On June 18th, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain, and Detroit again became a post with two frontiers. Much has been written about Gen. Hull's surrender. There was no apparent reason for it. His force was adequate to repulse an attack and his men were eager for the fray. I have been told by eye-witnesses that Hull was thoroughly demoralized. Women and children, fearful of savage atrocities, clung to his knees, and with tobacco juice running from the corners of his mouth, he presented a pitiable sight of abject imbecility.

Some idea of the importance of this place may be had when I cite a few of the items surrendered. Forty barrels of powder; four hundred rounds of 24-pound shot; one hundred thousand ball cartridges; twenty-four thousand stand of arms; thirty-five iron and brass cannon, together with a large supply of provisions.

Gen. Brock, who commanded the British troops, was an elegant gentleman, a chivalrous man and a first-class officer. He compelled the Indians to treat the Americans respectfully, restored their goods to all Americans who had been prisoners at Malden, sent them across the river, where they walked to Detroit and surrendered with the city.

After Brock's departure, Proctor remained in command and earned and deserved the execrations of the Americans by his brutal conduct. He permitted the Indians to plunder and insult the people, and when complaints were made to him, he met them with coarse revilings and vulgar abuse. A favorite amusement of

the Indians was knocking off the hats of Americans. Proctor encouraged this sport. When complaint was made to Tecumseh, the Indian chief, unlike the Christian commander, he compelled his young men to desist.

Tecumseh was a patriot, a statesman, a gentleman and a warrior. He saw the extinction of the Indians if the Americans were not driven out, just as Pontiac foresaw the same result if the English were permitted to stay. A great natural orator, he strove to arouse the tribes far and wide and unite them against the invaders. He was a great warrior and a chivalrous man and died in the forefront of battle at the River Thames, near Chatham.

Winchester's defeat at Frenchtown, the present site of Monroe, and the subsequent massacre of the wounded by the Indians, with the connivance of the infamous Proctor, add another bloody chapter to the story. The bones of these martyrs were afterward conveyed to Kentucky, and there interred with proper ceremony. "Remember the River Raisin" was a dreaded cry in the ears of an Indian for years afterward. Proctor met an overwhelming defeat at the hands of Maj. Croghan, who killed and wounded more of the enemy than he (Croghan) had men in his command.

It was recognized by both sides that the control of Lake Erie was necessary for the possession of Detroit. Perry, a young man of but thirty-two, sought the enemy near Put-in-Bay, and his dispatch is world famous. He captured an entire British fleet, an event unprecedented in history. It was told, when I was a boy, that the English vessels had tanks, containing fresh water for drinking purposes. It sounds absurd, but is on a par

with other mistakes of the British war department. Proctor abandoned Detroit, was chased by Harrison and Perry to the Thames, met an overwhelming defeat and was afterward courtmartialed, because of it.

The Northwest of to-day conveys to most of us an impression of a country, practically undefined, which has its western limits on the boundaries of the Russian Empire. It conveys to us pictures of fertile prairies, snow clad mountains, barren plains, mighty rivers, and innumerable islands. There was a time, however, when it had a restricted and well defined meaning; when its boundaries were sharply drawn and when its organic law proclaimed to the world that it was to be the abode of religion, education and morality.

The Northwest was the first adopted child of the United States. The Ordinance of 1787 was the twin sister of the Constitution. It placed the imprint of liberty on its forehead and made religion, education and morality its watchwords. Over one hundred years have passed since that immortal statute dedicated it to freedom. Nor slavery, nor states' rights has ever found a footing here. In the five states created from it, no flag has ever found allegiance but the flag of our country. No love of state has obscured the love for the flag; no colonial traditions, confused the conceptions of national life; no selfish impulse ever caused it to look for profit elsewhere than to the Constitution of its country.

It has been true to its dedication. Throughout its expanse, the spire of the church is seen, the bell of the school house calls millions of children together, where patriotism and morality are inculcated and virtue assured

by the promotion of intelligence. Letters, the dragon's teeth of Cadmus, were planted and behold, in the hour of her need, a million of men sprang to arms in defense of our country.

We can say that we have a city with a history. A Caucasian community has lived here two hundred years. On this ground, Cadillac and the ancestors of many of our townsmen lived two centuries ago. During the Revolution, although apparently regarded as out of the pale of the contest, there were a large number of American sympathizers here, enough to call for repressive measures from Gov. Hamilton. Detroit enjoys the distinction of being the greatest market of its kind at any time in the world. Here Gladwyn, isolated and surrounded by perils, achieved fame by his courageous defense of his post; from here went whites and Indians to take part in Brad-dock's defeat; here was organized the raid on and the massacre at Wyoming; through these streets, prisoners from there were driven. Here unfortunates recognized the scalps of their murdered kindred; here men and women impoverished themselves to ransom captives from death or captivity; here the pious Zeisberger and his assistants presented themselves for trial; here Daniel Boone and Simon Kinton were prisoners during the Revolution; here have sojourned for a time Logan, the Mingoe chief, the two Johnsons, Brant, the educated Mohawk chief, Stark of Bennington fame, the chivalrous Brock, Perry, the naval hero, the heroic Tecumseh, and his brother, the Prophet, Lord Dorchester, Gov. Simcoe, Generals Shelby and Harrison, the dastardly Proctor, the fiendish Gerty and the daring Croghan; and through it all, here have

lived men, consecrated to the worship of God and the salvation of their fellow men, who have striven to mitigate suffering and to inspire to a higher life.

Detroit was a convention city two hundred years before the word "Welcome" was writ in letters of fire on our City Hall. Here came for consultation with the Commandant, or with each other, the Delawares, the Wyandottes, the Hurons, the Eries, the Ottawas, the Winnebagoes, the Foxes and the Algonquins.

Our history presents a picture, where the dark background of savagery gives a shading to the virtues, constantly displayed, until we have come to a point where we have no defensive or aggressive wars to wage, save against vice, ignorance, want of faith, agnicism, irreligion and bad government.

May our future be as progressive as our past.

THE RULE OF "THE GOVERNOR AND JUDGES."*

An Astounding Chapter of Territorial History.

By Silas Farmer, City Historiographer.

The history of territorial government by the Governor and Judges in the region covered by the Ordinance of 1787 includes the most unique and remarkable series of legislative and administrative occurrences that ever took place in any part of the Federal Union.

It exhibits a form of government previously unknown in any part of the country, and after it ceased in Michigan it had no further existence in any part of the United States.

The reasons for the rise and progress of this, the strongest and longest lived autocracy that ever existed on the continent, have never heretofore been uncovered nor explained.

The beginnings of the strange methods of government that eventually obtained, are found in the organization of the Ohio Company, and in that notable document, the Ordinance of 1787.

The Ohio Company was organized in 1786-7, with the purpose of interesting officers of the Revolutionary Army in the settlement of the West, and with the ultimate design of promoting the interests of stockholders in one of

*Copyright 1902 by Silas Farmer.

the most gigantic real estate schemes ever conceived—a scheme which, even in this day of large syndicates, would attract attention by its boldness and extent, and by the daring character of the enterprise. The details of the project show that the fathers of the republic were possessed of consummate nerve and ability, with power to plan, equal to that possessed by the greatest of financiers.

The authorship of the Ordinance of 1787 was for a long time accredited to Nathan Dane, but many facts are strongly against the theory that Mr. Dane was the author of the most important features of that document. The real author of the vital portions of the ordinance must have been Manassa Cutler. His diary* and letters show clearly that the purchase by the Ohio Company of a large tract of land—about 1,500,000 acres in what is now the state of Ohio—was conditioned upon the passage of an ordinance that would meet the approval of the proposed purchasers. It is also shown that although various propositions for governing the Western territory had been before Congress for several years without adoption, yet within one week from the time Dr. Cutler began his efforts on Congress, an ordinance that he, as a director and agent of the Land Company, favored, was passed.

Congress was led to favor the ordinance, not only to insure the sale of the lands, the government being in great need of money, but in order that settlements

*Manassa Cutler. *Life and Times.* 2 vols. R. Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1888.

might be formed as a bar against Spanish and French influence in the South and West.

Dr. Cutler's diary makes it evident beyond dispute that he and Winthrop Sargent suggested portions of the ordinance and insisted on them with such persistence that they secured their adoption "without the least variation." The portions they would especially desire to have inserted would naturally be those that would further the financial possibilities of the Land Company in which they were interested, and to this end it was desirable that the ordinance should appeal to Northern, and particularly to New England, men.

It is apparent that Cutler was long-headed and diplomatic, that he understood how to combine influences, and was possessed of so much skill, wisdom, suavity and secretiveness that probably a more expert lobbyist never solicited favors from a body of legislators. He possessed unusual literary and educational ability, was a notable scholar, was a specialist in astronomy, mineralogy, and botany, corresponded with many learned men, and was a member of various foreign societies of importance. His educational and religious proclivities easily account for the insertion of the paragraph providing for the encouragement of "religion, morality, and education."

The dormant, but definite anti-slavery sentiment of New England in which he evidently participated, found expression in the article which provided that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should be established in the territory."

The growing spirit of freedom from the domination of English law, especially the law of entail, undoubtedly caused him to desire the adoption of a distinctly democratic law for the descent of property.

Lastly, as the Land Company would naturally wish to control the region in which they were to have such large interests, it was provided that the Governor, Secretary, and Judges should each be required to own in the territory several hundred acres of land. This provision is not found in any previous or later law organizing other territories, and any continuance of the custom in territories organized out of the North West Territory was not definitely required.

The Ordinance of 1787 gave to the Governor and Judges the powers of a legislative body, and out of this fact there sprang an almost endless number of legal absurdities and complications, and even civil disorder.

Under the Ordinance,* Congress was to appoint a Governor whose term was for three years, unless sooner revoked, who was required to possess in freehold an estate of 1,000 acres in the territory, a Secretary for the term of four years, unless revoked, who was required to have 500 acres of land, and three Judges, any two of whom might form a court which should have common law jurisdiction, and each of them to serve during good behavior, and each to own 500 acres of land. The Governor and Judges, or a majority of them, were given power to adopt and publish such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as might be necessary, these

*Charters and Constitutions. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1878. Vol. I, page 429.

laws to be reported to Congress and be subject to disapproval.

When the number of free male inhabitants of full age reached 5,000, they were authorized on giving proof to the Governor to elect a General Assembly.

This peculiar authority, the power given to four, or possibly to only three persons, of making territorial laws, was subsequently granted to the Governor and Judges of the Territories of Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois, when organized out of the North West Territory. No such powers were given to the Governor and Judges of the Territories of Iowa, Wisconsin, or Minnesota. No laws organizing other territories in the United States have contained any such provision except in the case of the law organizing the Districts of Orleans and Louisiana.

In Indiana Territory this power existed from May 7th, 1800, to September 11th, 1804, or for four years.

In Illinois Territory from February 3d, 1809, to May 21, 1812, or three years.

In the Territory of Louisiana, over that part now included in the States of Arkansas and Missouri, from March 3, 1805, to June 4, 1812, or seven years.

Diligent search and enquiry in Indiana, Illinois, Louisiana, and Missouri have failed to reveal any evidence of startling or peculiar legislative doings by the Governor and Judges having rule in the territories including those states, but in Michigan a most remarkable and unparalleled state of affairs came into existence.

The Governor and Judges of the original North West Territory exercised their peculiar powers from July 25, 1788, to January 22, 1799, a period of eleven years.

Over the North West Territory as reduced in size by the creation of the Territory of Indiana, they ruled from May 7, 1800, to November 1, 1802, a period of two years.

Concerning the exercise of legislative powers by the Governor and Judges of the North West Territory, Gov. St. Clair was of the opinion that as the words of the ordinance gave only power to "adopt and publish" such laws as might be necessary and best suited to the circumstances, the Governor and Judges had no authority to frame or create entirely new laws, or laws varying from those of the original states, and he repeatedly so stated.

The Judges, however, assumed and acted on the supposition that the ordinance was not to be construed literally, and that they were at liberty to add any particulars they deemed necessary. Stripped of all verbiage, they practically said, we know better than Congress what sort of laws are needed.

In defending their "actions" they said with unaffected simplicity, "we are sensible these observations rather tend to evince what the powers should have been than what they are."*

Holding that, if they were authorized to adopt entire laws of any one state, they were also empowered to adopt parts of laws, and therefore parts of laws of several states, they proceeded to make conglomerate laws, and in order to make their medley of various laws harmonize, the diction was frequently changed with the result that they exercised all the legislative powers that any law-making body could possess.

*St. Clair Papers. Vol. 2, pages 67-69.

Judges Symmes and Turner argued that as certain laws needed in the territory could not be found in the codes of the original States they were justified in passing new laws. Here it will be noticed all pretense of being governed by the authority of the Ordinance was thrown aside. Against these reasonings the criticism and objections of Gov. St. Clair were of no avail, and the Judges soon entered upon a further interpretation intended to increase their power. They claimed that as the law said "The Governor and Judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish," they alone, without the Governor, could adopt and publish laws. This interpretation was earnestly resisted by Gov. St. Clair who, though he frankly admitted that the sentence because of its punctuation was open to the construction claimed, insisted that Congress intended that all laws should have the approval of the Governor, and that to leave the adoption of laws solely to the persons who were to enforce and expound them would be a manifest improvidence, especially if there were no restriction as to what laws they might adopt, and particularly so, if the persons who sought to both make and enforce the laws, were in no sense responsible to the people over whom they exercised authority. He held that the clause was intended to read "the Governor, and Judges or a majority of them shall adopt and publish," and in this opinion he was sustained by Congress.*

In reading and reviewing the reasoning of Gov. St. Clair, one can but admire his clear, logical, and sturdy utterances; he discusses the principles and objects of the

*St. Clair Papers. Vol. 2, pages 61, 64, 67.

ordinance and his own relation to the Government of the Territory in a manner worthy of the most exalted executive. He was evidently worthy of the position he held, and fully competent to maintain the dignity and proprieties of his office. In expressing his purpose to keep within the line of duty, and not lay himself open to criticism, he said, with such clearness and force that his utterance might well be insisted upon as a rule of conduct for office-holders of the present day, "No excuses should be admitted for men in public trust."†

Gov. St. Clair frequently protested to the Judges against the proposed titles of certain laws, the arrangement of the clauses, the rhetoric, and even against the use of certain words. Some laws he objected to as needless and liable to vicious interpretation, besides being inapplicable to conditions then existing. His positions were apparently logical and forceful and yet he was often overruled.*

In a letter to a Mr. Coit he said that, though he was clearly of the opinion they had no power to make laws, Judges Parsons and Varnum were "decidedly of the contrary opinion and the point was battled both verbally and in writing for a considerable time." He further says that neither of these gentlemen [the Judges just named] were in possession of the codes of the States, although three months of their respective salaries had been paid to them before they entered upon their offices, as a compensation for the time and pains the collection of these codes would cost them." He then says, "I had that of Penn-

†St. Clair Papers. Vol. 2, page 77.

*St. Clair Papers. Vol. 2, page 72.

sylvania only, to which they were averse. After the death of these gentlemen I endeavored to bring them [the new Judges] to what I conceived to be the design of Congress; but I met with the same opinion and the concurrent sentiments of two sets of Judges put an end to further objections on my part."†

The laws passed at this period were not printed but were in manuscript only, and as most of the inhabitants were French, the laws when read to them were at best only partially understood.

In addition to all the other disagreeable facts of that regime, the Judges quarreled with each other and on one occasion Judge Turner threatened to impeach Judge Vanderburgh, saying he encouraged law-breakers. Judge Turner himself however seemed to act as though he was above all law. He committed a prisoner guilty only of an offence against the civil law to the colonel of a regiment to be kept in the guard house, and he issued a habeas corpus for the release of a military prisoner and thus brought on a direct conflict between the civil and military authorities. For these and other offences he was indicted by the Grand Jury, one charge being that he had removed the official records from one place to another without authority. Gov. St. Clair in a letter to Edmund Randolph dated May 4, 1795, says with fine sarcasm "This is a very extended country, and from a variety of causes would require the eye and hand of the executive in every part of it, but as that is impossible at all times you may perceive that Judge Turner seems inclined to take some of the trouble."

†St. Clair Papers. Vol. 2, page 234.

Judge Turner however was not the only judge who seemed disposed to be a law unto himself. Gov. St. Clair sets forth that Judge Varnum would agree to a law and then refuse to approve it and the Governor was compelled to take him to task for his inconsistency and vacillation.*

It also appears that Judge Symmes had peculiar ideas as to property rights. The St. Clair papers show that he bought certain lands from the United States, but sold lands to which he had no right, and the Governor was compelled to issue a proclamation defining what lands the Judge had a right to sell.†

The legal outcome of the illegal actions of these judicial law-breakers was the introduction of a bill in the House of Representatives to disapprove of all laws enacted at Cincinnati from July, 1788, to December, 1792. The Senate disapproved of the bill not because they differed in opinion but because they believed the said laws were *ipso facto* void.

In Michigan Territory the rule of the Governor and Judges continued from January 11th, 1805, to March 3, 1823, or fully eighteen years.

It naturally becomes an interesting subject of inquiry as to the causes or conditions which perpetuated this singular form of government for so long a time in Michigan.

The reasons were various, for almost all the circumstances were unique and many of them peculiar to this region. The fire of June 11, 1805, had so fully destroyed

*St. Clair Papers. Vol. 2, page 96.

†St. Clair Papers. Vol. 2, page 209.

the town of Detroit, the only town in the territory, that it was deemed a matter of little importance as to the method of government. The inhabitants were mainly French and generally indifferent, mostly of a docile character, and easily satisfied; the larger traders, both French and "Bostonian," did not desire any change that would bring notoriety, or new-comers and competitors. The region was quite isolated, north of the route usually travelled, and the land was commonly believed to be swampy and consequently undesirable.

There were no detailed maps of the region and in fact during the entire rule of the Governor and Judges there were no published maps of any topographical value. The lands deemed most desirable were in possession of the early French settlers, and there was no large land company to invite immigrants or those seeking investments.

Those who had control of affairs naturally desired to retain it, and discouraged any knowledge or action that would bring a change. The opportunities of such a trust under such circumstances could not be resisted, especially when there was included the laying out of a new town, and the disposal of city lots by the hundred besides thousands of acres of adjacent lands. There were also opportunities in connection with the Indian trade, with the clothing of a force of militia and the supplying of their equipment, including close connection with, if not control of, a bank purposing the issue of millions of currency.

All of these things, together with frequent Indian threatenings and finally the War of 1812 and the desolation and distress growing out of it, delayed the inauguration of a more American form of Government.

In addition to all other reasons the population was not large enough to admit of an election of a General Assembly until 1818, and, strange to say, the returns of the election of that year showed a majority against the establishment of such a body. It is however not at all improbable that there were irregularities in connection with such a return.

The actions of the Governor and Judges in their several distinct roles have been detailed elsewhere but no complete realization of the facts can be gained without considering in a single view all of their administrative powers and doings.

The three Judges and the Governor, in themselves, possessed all power whether legislative, executive, or judicial. They had no occasion to pose or personate; they were given power that enabled them at their own will and pleasure to serve as law-makers, as judge, jury and client. In modern parlance they were themselves "the whole thing" and like Boss Tweed, and with much greater reason, could have said and probably did say, "what are you going to do about it?"

They made laws, built court houses, issued scrip, laid out streets and lots, gave away lots to churches, schools, societies, and individuals, and were practically "Lords of the Manor of Detroit," for they exercised almost all the powers that such a title would imply, and even more, as they imposed taxes, issued licenses and were *de facto* "Farmers General" for both town and territory.

An appropriate business card for the first officials would have been:

“Hull & Co., Dealers in Real Estate,
Lots bought, sold, exchanged,
and
Given away.

Solicitors & Counsellors,
Brokers and Bankers.

Well-diggers, Builders & Contractors ;
Dealers in Militia Uniforms ; Licenses issued
To Traders, Hotels, etc. Collections made.
Government, Administrative, and Judicial
business transacted at all hours
of the day and night—Sundays
included. Office and Court-Room
at any place where we may
happen to be and Business of
any sort transacted ad interim.”

So many, so varied, so peculiar were the powers that they exercised that the plain sober truth concerning their actions seems like fiction. It is but just to state that certain responsibilities were thrust upon them by conditions that existed, but it is manifest that they willingly assumed, and persistently sought to perpetuate and increase, all their governmental powers and prerogatives both local and general.

The Governor and Judges were appointed January 11, 1805. Judges Woodward and Bates arrived at Detroit June 12 and found that on the previous day every house in the town save one, had been destroyed by fire. A few stone chimneys and, near the fire line, several unique and antique pear trees alone remained to sentinel the ruins. Gov. Hull arrived on the evening of July 1 following. The date of the arrival of Judge Griffin is unknown.

The fire of June 11, 1805, which, in view of its results, was the most important event that ever happened in Detroit, had thrown every interest into confusion. Not only were the moss-grown buildings destroyed, but many property lines were obliterated. The opportunities for new and wider streets could not be overlooked nor neglected. Added to these considerations of convenience and future growth, there was such an opening for speculation that it could not be resisted and some one had to take responsibilities.

It must be remembered that at this time railroad and steamboat conveyances were unknown; there were no telegraph lines; there was not even a respectable roadway to the east, west, or south. A bridle-path through the woods enabled the post rider, and part of the way a footman, to carry mail to and from the east and south, the time occupied being about six weeks, though even that time was uncertain.

The communal system—the cultivating by individuals of the lands adjoining the Fort lying between the Private Claims now known as the Cass and Brush farms—had prevailed from time immemorial. Year after year on what are now the principal avenues and squares of the older portion of Detroit, the poor French in their wooden **sabots** broke up land, raising oats and onions, and used in common, portions of the soil for pasturage.

It was deemed desirable and in accord with the spirit of American institutions that this semi-individual ownership should cease; the exigencies of the times required that all titles to land in the town just destroyed should be adjusted, and future growth demanded a new plan

with wider streets. Opposition to this was natural and to be expected, but executive prestige and power, and eastern and southern acumen were more than sufficient to accomplish the results desired.

In many respects the Governor and Judges were particularly well fitted to enter upon and complete the laying out of a new Detroit. Judge Woodward came from Alexandria, Va., and was evidently full of knowledge concerning, and of admiration for, the plan of Washington which was then in its "newness." He manifestly desired and determined that Detroit should be modelled after that "City of Magnificent Distances." Sections of his plan as drawn by A. F. Hull, the son of the Governor, could be laid upon the plan of Washington and matched to a line. This similarity undoubtedly aided the Governor and himself in obtaining authority to lay out Detroit in accordance with the plan which they took to Washington in the fall following the fire.

There was naturally some opposition to the adoption of a plan which gave so much power into their hands, and Judge Woodward claimed to have expended over \$303 in lobbying the bill through Congress.

The people must have been very indifferent, or else cajoled and outwitted into silence, while the plans were in progress, for month after month went on after the fire, without any public decisions as to plans or the erection of any houses. Why could not houses be built? One reason was, that by proclamation of Sept. 4, 1805, Gov. Hull forbade the cutting of any timber in the St. Clair pinery, at that time practically the only source of supply. Ostensibly the reason must have been that people cutting

were trespassing on Government lands, but that alone would not under the circumstances seem a sufficient reason for such a proclamation.

Finally, after summering and wintering as best they could among their friends outside of the old town limits, the inhabitants were gratified with the news that on April 21, 1806, Congress had authorized the Governor and Judges to lay out a new town, build a court house and jail and in connection therewith dispose of 10,000 acres near the town, with the power to convey lots in the new town of Detroit, giving former owners and householders lots in the same, and generally settling all of the details therewith connected. Allowing even two months for news of the passage of this act to reach Detroit there was still unaccountable delay on the part of the Governor and Judges, for it was not until Sept. 6, 1806, or four months after the date of the act, that they held their first meeting. Interminable slowness seems to have been their purpose, plans and counter-plans, change and repeated change in surveys their method of action. "How not to do it" might well have been their motto. Lots were numbered and renumbered, streets laid out on paper, obliterated, and then laid out anew in new directions and locations. Decisions were bandied about and referred from one person or authority to another and questions of ownerships of lots, like a shuttlecock, were tossed to and fro. Plans were prepared, approved, used and then discarded. Every new difficulty and scheme seemed to give rise to new and radically different lot outlines and numbers. Lots were alternately granted and withdrawn, caprice alone seeming to dictate.

Eventually even the slaves were given lots. Without bond or books of account, without system or method other than the method of not leaving any record of what monies were received or how expended, they did as they pleased. A Philadelphia lawyer could not possibly have kept track of, and have recorded all of the acts, doings, and undoings of these town-site manipulators. They were evidently past masters in the art of change and presto-change.

As a result, for a year and a half after the fire there was not a single house erected, and up to May, 1807, deeds had been given for only nineteen lots. Meantime the debris of the fire covered the site of the ancient village and here and there the old stone chimneys reared themselves as monuments of the disaster and of the incompetency or worse of those in authority. Discomfort existed everywhere.

During this period the Governor was engaged in perfecting his "wonderful gold lace broad-cloth and silver epauletted uniform" scheme for the poor, awkward and impoverished inhabitants of his demesne and on June 6, 1806, the material for the elaborate uniforms arrived. The details of this farcical and financial scheme concocted for his personal benefit are such as would tax one's credulity to believe, if the evidence were not overwhelming. He ordered the militia to procure uniforms and he alone could furnish them. How clearly one hand clasped the other!

Closely associated with this mercantile venture was a "wild-cat" bank scheme which the wildest speculator of modern days might envy for the "nerve" it displayed. A

petition for an act to organize such a bank with a capital of \$400,000 was presented to the Governor and Judges March 27, 1806. An act was passed on September 19 providing for a bank with not to exceed \$1,000,000 capital with a charter to last 100 years. It was claimed that notes to the amount of several hundred thousand dollars were disposed of and even to this day its bills are occasionally brought to light, but fortunately Congress disapproved of the bank and just how much the swindle produced is unknown.

While these schemes were incubating, attention was also given to the enacting of laws for the Territory. The first law was adopted July 9, 1805, and before May, 1806, many other laws had been agreed upon. At intervals for nearly twenty years, as necessity or inclination moved them, the farce of "Legislation made easy" was performed by various members of this notable company. The several roles were alternately assumed by one or another as preference or prejudice indicated. There was neither dignity nor the semblance of it in the doings of these legislators. Sometimes one and sometimes another would formulate a law and carry it about for the approval of one or more of the others. Disagreements were frequent and for months at a time one or another would have no intercourse with other members of the august body. The adoption of laws from the original thirteen States, which was all that they were authorized to do, became under their methods a mere burlesque. A writer of that period openly charged, and exaggerated but little in saying, that they would "parade the laws of the original States before them on the table, and cull letters from

the laws of Maryland; syllables from the laws of Virginia, words from the laws of New York, sentences from the laws of Pennsylvania, verses from the laws of Kentucky, and chapters from the laws of Connecticut." Formulated under such methods, the laws of that period, if examined, would afford opportunities for a "rainbow edition" that would please the most extreme of the "higher critics."

During most of this "Reign of Four" there was no newspaper published at Detroit and none nearer than Pittsburg, and in order to catch the attention of the people and awaken them to their own interests, articles and notices were written out and suspended from doors and windows and guarded by men in arms.

However intrigue and deception continued to prevail, and there was so much official neglect and misdoing that a blank indictment might be filled up with a long list of crimes committed by these officials. The executive acts and the legislative doings were a travesty on right and propriety. Just how much of cause for their actions was contained in "six black bottles" which were charged for in a bill against the Territory, is of course unknown. But in view of indisputable evidence one can possess a judicial spirit and still believe almost anything as to their doings.

It should not be forgotten that during nearly the entire period of this autocracy the Governor and the Judges possessed absolute power over all the local affairs of the town as well as over the Territory. There was a pretense on one occasion of giving the inhabitants local gov-

*Territorial Laws of Michigan. Vol. 4, page 3.

ernment by the passage of the act of Sept. 6, 1806,* which provided for an upper and lower council of the city of Detroit and for officers to be elected by the people. When however the councils organized and attempted to control city affairs they then realized that under the act the Mayor, who was appointed by the Governor and Judges, had an absolute veto power even when both councils were agreed upon a course of action, the power being thus really lodged with the Mayor—the official instrument of the Governor and Judges themselves. The two councils were therefore, as was then expressed, “a body without guts. Instead of having power to open one street and prevent the removal of another, they had not power to open a hog-pen, or to prevent the removal of a hen-roost.”

Of course such a charter fell at once into “innocuous desuetude.” The law was repealed February 24, 1809, and the Governor and Judges continued to hold the reins of government.

Notwithstanding all the singular legislation of their own creation they seemed to have a fear of some of the singular provisions of old English law. This was not altogether unreasonable, for by act of the Governor and Judges of Northwest Territory passed July 14, 1795, the statutes of the British Parliament not local to that kingdom were made of force in the Territory:

“The common law of England, all statutes or acts of the British Parliament made in aid of the common law, prior to the fourth year of the reign of King James the First (and which are of a general nature, not local to that kingdom) and also the several laws in force in this Territory, shall be the rule of decision and shall be considered as of full force until repealed

by legislative authority or disapproved by Congress. Adopted from the statutes of Virginia and published in July 14, 1795, to take effect Oct. 1, 1795."*

In order to prevent any appeal to such English laws, they would from time to time enact, either generally or specifically, that such laws were abolished. An act as late as Feb. 21, 1821, says "so much of any law, or supposed law, as might operate to require four knights girt with swords to be on the jury for the trial of the issue, joined in an action of right, be, and the same is abolished, abrogated, and repealed."†

An act of May 11, 1820, abolished trial by battle, and this was again specifically abolished by law of February 21, 1821.‡

As late as April 12, 1827, a law gravely provided that "the benefit of clergy shall be, and the same is hereby abolished."

When we turn to the doings of the Judges sitting as a court, the extravagancies and inconsistencies of their conduct are even more manifest. The Supreme Court was organized on July 29, 1805. No regular time of session was observed and the court met at private houses, at a tavern, in the clerk's office, and sometimes (this is sober truth) out-of-doors on a pile of wood. The sessions were continued until one, two, and three o'clock in the morning, and at such times, with the court in regular, or rather irregular, session, suppers including

*Statutes of Ohio, by S. P. Chase. Vol. 1, p. 190, Chap. LXIV.

†Territorial Laws of Michigan. Vol. 1, page 800, Sec. 12.

‡Ibid., Vol. 3, pages 586, 802.

whiskey, were served and partaken of even while cases were being prosecuted and argued.‡

Different Judges would adjourn or convene the court at their own convenience, one Judge frequently contravening the decisions and orders of another. Imagine any irregularity that you can and it was charged against them. They declared that their own decisions should be no guide as to what their decisions might be in other similar cases. They ordered at least one Indian criminal branded, and in other cases showed great favoritism, even making court rules for the benefit of particular persons. Occasionally even while on the bench, Judge Woodward would close his eyes and order the clerk to enter in the journal that he was absent.

When they desired to take action according to some form of law and no sufficient law was in force, the court would adjourn and the same three men with the addition of the Governor would come together in the evening as a Legislature and pass a law to meet the case and then, under this new *ex post facto* law, proceed with the trial. Two Indians were convicted under these circumstances and subsequently executed.*

It is due to one or two of those associated as Judges during a part of this regime, to say that Judge Woodward, who was in office for the entire period, was very largely responsible for the conditions that existed.

Gov. Hull was equally guilty, but the War of 1812

‡Memorial to Congress dated January 3, 1823, in Detroit Gazette.

*See Witherell's Reminiscences in Gibb's Fourth Michigan Reports; also Territorial Laws of Michigan. Vol. I, pages 234, 235.

relieved the Territory of his incompetence, the surrender of Detroit by him being only the natural result of his pride, selfishness, and conceit, and his conscience should have, and did, make him a coward.

The accession of General Cass as Governor, the establishing of the Detroit Gazette which ventilated the proceedings, and the coming in of new immigrants finally brought people enough to have a general assembly, and with freer discussion, and elective methods, order began to reign after twenty years of chaos and disorder.

THE PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC LAND-MARKS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON HISTORY AND PATRIOTISM.*

By President James B. Angell, L. L. D.

While sitting here through this hot afternoon I have been wondering whether if the intrepid Cadillac had been asked on his arrival here to listen to the speeches of seven gentlemen with the thermometer at 90°, he would not have turned the prow of his canoe away without founding Detroit.

There are two Cities of the Straits, destined by their very situation to be beautiful and important. One is in the old world, the other in the new. One is two thousand years old, the other two hundred years old. The former stands on the Bosphorus, that stream, which the dwellers on its banks deem the finest in the world.

They will tell you that no waters are so green and clear as its waters, no sky is so blue as that which over-arches it, no hills are so picturesque as those which rise on either side of it, nowhere will you see such -a variety of costume and nationality as in the graceful caiques which fly rather than float upon its surface.

There the commerce of two continents has met for more than twenty centuries. The keels of all nations fur-

*President Angell spoke extemporaneously.—Editors.

row the swift current, which pours the floods of the Euxine and the Azof into the Marmora and the Mediterranean.

But we must be pardoned for believing that the stream which gives the name to our city has waters as sparkling and as bright as those of the Bosphorus; that the matchless American sky over it is as blue as that of the Orient; that as fair as the hillsides of Constantinople are the fertile plains stretching away from here, singing with the golden harvest that gladdens the hearts of the nations.

We see from our windows merchant fleets crowding our channel in numbers far exceeding those which are passing Stamboul. If we have not here a variety of costume and language, we have what is far better, a great and homogeneous people with intelligence, law, and liberty, with all the blessings of a civilization a thousand years in advance of that on the banks of the Bosphorus.

Therefore we gather here to-day with grateful hearts to pay homage to that brave and enterprising soldier, Antoine de La Mothe Cadillac, who two hundred years ago to-day founded this fair city of Detroit. It may seem strange that no one before him should have selected this spot for a settlement. Years before, those devoted missionaries Raimbault and Jogues, had established themselves at Sault de Ste. Marie. That brave explorer La Salle had sent his ship, the "Grifon," up this stream, had penetrated to the Mississippi and had made his way back over the prairies and morasses of Illinois and Michigan.

That great man who united the enterprise of an explorer with the holiness of a saint, Father Marquette, had

in 1670 made his plantation at St. Ignace, had pushed on to the Mississippi, and descended it to the Arkansas, and had then returned to die at Ludington at the early age of thirty-seven, and had left an impress upon Michigan that has never been effaced, so that when the state was called to choose its two representatives to be commemorated by statues in the rotunda at Washington, by the common consent of Catholics and Protestants alike the good Père Marquette was selected as one.

But the attention of all these men, whether concentrated on missions or on the fur trade, was naturally fixed on the northern region. Cadillac, however, after holding the military command of the post at Mackinaw, saw with the eye of a statesman that in the conditions existing at the close of the seventeenth century this was the point from which to control the Indians and also the fur trade. Having persuaded the home government of the justice of his views, he was permitted to establish himself here.

It is eminently fitting that we should celebrate the day with every token of gratitude and rejoicing. The presence of these distinguished representatives of France, reminds us that we have much to learn from their nation in showing fitting appreciation of great historic events and personages.

France is a great gallery of statues, pictures, arches, columns, edifices, commemorative of the achievements of her great men and the notable events in her history. The very streets of Paris bear the names of the dates of signal occurrences. Every square is adorned with statues or columns or arches that inflame the patriotism of the citi-

zen. Go to Versailles and you see in the spacious galleries of the palace the history of France from Clovis to Loubet depicted by great masters upon the walls. Wherever you turn in France, the past is appealing to you through some artistic representation.

So it is perhaps in lesser degree in Italy or Germany. Not only are the deeds of the warrior glorified. The homes of great authors are preserved as shrines, as for instance the house of Goethe in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and that of Jean Paul in Bayreuth. Even in England, we visit with emotion the home of Carlyle in Chelsea, and the Shakespeare theatre at Stratford-on-Avon.

We have erred as a nation by giving too little expression to our feelings. We have perhaps inherited from our English ancestors a disposition to suppress all expression of emotion. True, since the civil war which stirred our natures to the centre we have erected monuments, not always of high artistic merit, to the memory of those who died that we might live, and have marked in appropriate manner some of our great battlefields.

But we may well imitate our French friends in expressing more generously by suitable tokens the notable events and memorable persons in our glorious history. Let us make our squares and parks populous with statues, affix descriptive plates of bronze to our historic mansions, erect triumphal arches over our streets, and in all becoming methods show our gratitude to our ancestors who sacrificed so much in building this nation that we might enter into the precious inheritance of peace, comfort, and regulated liberty, which has come to us as our invaluable birthright.

INFLUENCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS OF MICHIGAN—1701-1901.

By Hon. Peter White.

The Michigan of to-day is the same country the savages possessed and the French explored, and the Detroit is the same beautiful river.

But how immense have been the changes! If De La Mothe Cadillac were here to-day he would recognize nothing but the green water of the river, and some of the names still represented in this audience.

The wilderness of forest and swamp has disappeared. We could paraphrase our State motto and say to him, "If you seek a beautiful and populous State look about you."

Cadillac's first Michigan experience was not at Detroit. Mackinac or Michilimackinac was the great post for French influence. But the site of Teuscha Grondie, the Indian village that used to stand here, had been recognized as of immense strategic importance as a check on the plans of the English and their wily hirelings, the Iroquois, so Cadillac was duly commissioned to establish a fort here.

The early French influence is hard to characterize in any simple terms. It was religious and every unprejudiced observer must agree with Parkman, Hubbard,

Trowbridge and Campbell, that it was sincerely so. The Recollet or Franciscan Missionaries came first, but seemed to lack the stamina of their successors, the Jesuits, and these from long association with soldiers and politicians learned to look on the country with one eye for the church, and another for the interests of La Belle France.

Great as was the political significance of the Jesuit explorations, it would be hard to trace anything modern back to them. They were for a long time lost sight of, and indeed the religious effect was also for a long time supposed to be lost. But when the resettlement of Northern Michigan began in 1830 or thereabouts, and Roman Catholic missionaries once more came in contact with the Indians, they found unmistakable evidences of their earlier christianization, and that, without priest or altar, they had retained some knowledge of the faith once taught them.

With the priest, or sometimes alone, came the soldier, oftentimes a gentleman or small nobleman. Some of these priests, Marquette, Hennepin, Mesnard, Allouez, Dablon, Jogues, were as great heroes as ever fell on the battlefield, but their soldier companions like Joliet, Du Lhut, Cadillac and La Salle seem to have been quite worthy of them.

Their exploits were simply marvelous, and it would have been well for this universal Yankee nation, could she have borrowed from the French their invariable fairness toward the Indians and almost unfailing success in finally conciliating their friendship.

With each settlement came necessarily a fort, a small garrison and a motley crew of voyageurs, coureurs de bois, and serviteurs, ready to follow the settlement to a new place if it was transferred.

The garrison would protect merchants and skilled mechanics and grants would be made, as they were here, under peculiar conditions to settlers on the shore.

Every original French settlement was on a water course. The original carry-all was a bateau or canoe.

The settlement on the Detroit was fluctuating as to population. In 1763 it had about 2,500 people in the fort and scattered in the cottages along the river. Any one who now goes down to Petite Cote can get a fair idea of the way the original cottages stood, only then there were no roads and barely any clearings. But now and again a new settlement in the Illinois country would take away half the population, and there was no substantial growth.

The early habitant was a poor farmer. I suspect that farming in Normandy must have been at that time very backward, and for a long time the river Frenchman did not improve. He threw away his fertilizers and ploughed very lightly. But he had good taste in apples and pears. The snow apple, wherever he got it, comes direct from the along-the-river Frenchman. It is certainly a great civilizer. The so-called French pear is seen nowhere else.

The backwardness of the French farmer may be attributed partly to the restrictions, feudal in their character, under which they held their land; partly also to the speedy admixture of Indian blood, bred to the chase, among the settlers. But this admixture seems not to

have affected the town or garrison people to any considerable extent. They retain their pure Caucasian lineage most honorably until this day.

Gay and careless in some ways as the early French were, they were not lax in morals, as some writers have stated. They were devoted church goers and loyal friends, and were not left wholly without education. Even among the women, reading was not uncommon.

In the Revolution, and in 1812, the French became strong American partisans. They never took kindly to British rule. In business they were honorable but extremely conservative; in hospitality supreme. So charming were the convent bred belles of the better class among them, that future settlers of every sort who came here, found them wives among the French, so that it is hardly necessary to prove more than the very early settlement of any particular family in Detroit, to raise a strong presumption of French blood, whatever the name may be.

The one trade the early Frenchman cared for was the fur trade. The English and Americans who came after 1760 do not seem to have looked beyond this. The English had to suppress Pontiac before they could do much and the Revolution followed too soon for British influence to have pressed very deep.

Many personal friends of Mr. C. C. Trowbridge are here assembled. There were 9,000 people in Michigan when he came, and he personally talked with many people who had seen the Bloody Run fight in 1763.

Among the British commanders a most honorable place must be yielded to Major Arent DePeyster. But

in general, British military occupancy merely meant that Detroit was an emporium for rum, tomahawks and gun powder, and Hamilton in the Revolution and Proctor in the War of 1812 have dishonorable prominence in purchasing or permitting savage barbarity.

The surrender of the northwest posts in 1796 brought in the first considerable number of English speaking residents. They were of a somewhat different character from the earlier stock, because coming with broader prospects. They came mainly from Ohio and belonged to genuine American stock. The territorial government came in immediately after the fire which destroyed old Detroit in 1805, and brought an additional settlement, but until after 1815 there was nothing considerable at any distance from the old French posts. Four thousand people in 1805 had increased in 1820 to 9,000 and this in a Territory more than twice as large as the present limits include.

After 1812 an increasing large number of settlers began to come in from New York, so that whole rural neighborhoods now bear the names of those sections of New York State from which their settlers came, and when the State was organized, the laws of New York and its legal practice formed models for very slightly modified adoption.

Since State organization the growth in wealth and population has greatly advanced, and here and there large sections have been entirely taken up by foreign colonies. But foreign born populations have had far less to do, save in the north, with developing our State than with many Western States.

The voyageur hung on in the north around Mackinac as long as that post remained the headquarters of the American Fur Company, and there are many people still living who are familiar with everything about old wood ranger and voyageur life.

At the risk of being considered tedious I feel that I must give you a little idea of the life of the wood ranger and voyageur, from a bit of my own experience.

On the 9th of April, 1851, Hon. Abner Sherman arrived at Marquette from Ontonagon, on foot and alone. He was en route for Sault Ste. Marie by the same kind of conveyance. The agent of the Marquette Iron Company, in whose employ I was, looked upon it as a delightful opportunity for the young clerk in the company store, to journey along with Mr. Sherman from Marquette to Sault Ste. Marie, in order that a new tract of land might be secured before other parties might purchase it at the United States land office at that place. We were to make our way through an unbroken wilderness, through a trackless forest and unknown swamps, along a lake shore, with but little beach, the lake still full of broken ice, the woods still full of snow in drifts many feet deep, the rivers everywhere overflowing their banks and rushing in raging torrents down to the lake. There was little show of "April showers bringing forth May flowers." We each carried two blankets, some extra clothing, a tin pail in which to make tea, and each carried provisions estimated to last eight days. Each had a pair of large snow shoes and one carried what we called a half axe. Each had in his pack at least forty pounds. No Indian or half breed or French voyageur possessed greater powers of

endurance than did this brace of woodsmen, or statesmen, whichever you might style them. Starting from Marquette at ten a. m., April 9th, we crossed many swollen streams on improvised rafts and at six o'clock at night we reached the Au Train river. It seemed a thousand feet wide. We hastily constructed a wide raft of dry cedar logs that lay scattered along the shore. We noticed that these logs were old timbers as they were perforated with worm-holes, yet we believed the craft would carry us safely over. We did not know then, as I have since become convinced, that the worm-holes in those cedar logs were loaded with sand, and that as soon as they should be loaded with water, they would sink to the bottom as quickly as bars of iron. We jumped upon our raft, armed with poles to propel it, I retaining my pack upon my back, with the ten quart tin pail, its cover tightly closed, and this fact enables me to be here to-day to tell you the story, for with the very rapid current we had necessarily to cross the downward way diagonally and when we reached the middle of the river the water-logged raft went down as quickly as if a hundred tons of rock had fallen on it. Mr. Sherman, a powerful swimmer, reached the other shore, not without almost superhuman efforts, and I with my life preserver pail holding my head above the water, passed down out of the mouth of the river, until my feet struck the sand bar where I guided myself toward shore, my comrade coming out and extending me a helping hand, say, one or two hundred feet from shore. Ten minutes before I had not the slightest chance ever to reach the shore alive. Sherman remarked that he was mighty glad that I had saved the pail.

We made a big fire and dried our clothes and slept well that night, for we were tired. The next day we reached a point opposite Grand Island. In that harbor there was no ice. We built a fire and made other signals that induced Williams, the king of Grand Island, to send over a fish boat for us, and we staid with him that night, and he sold us an old boat, sails and oars, with which we got on our way about fifteen miles when we encountered vast fields of impenetrable ice, broken though it was.

So after securing the boat where some one might some day find it we trudged on, sometimes through deep sand, then slushy snow, then through terrible swamps—sometimes when night came finding no place dry enough to enable us to build a fire. We would travel on and on until darkness forbade another step. Then the balance of the sleepless night was terrible, and we would take advantage of the first dry spot next day to make a fire, cook some food, and take a short nap. I will not further tire you with the dull details of our trip except to say that after fording or rafting across many rivers, surviving many other perils, we reached Tauquamenon Bay, where it was impossible to walk on the beach because there was no beach, and impossible to walk in the woods, the water there was so deep, and the brush and logs so thick as to make is impossible with packs on our backs to make any headway. So we had to take to the water, which was full of slush ice, but we got along slowly in it, and after nine days of excitement, peril and suffering, footsore and weary, we reached Sault Ste. Marie. I waited for weeks to get a steamer to get back

to my home. I have never tried that trip since. I forgot to tell you that my companion carried a pistol, and his unerring aim several times brought down a fat partridge, otherwise we might have starved.

The interior of Michigan was so long supposed to be a wilderness that none of the Revolutionary land warrants were taken up here. These military lands long retarded actual settlement in other States but not so in Michigan. The actual settler soon became of the opinion of Bishop Philander Chase, who lived for some time at Gilead in Branch County, that no fairer land could be found anywhere.

The early settlers of American stock were deeply concerned about education, and Romanist and Protestant joined hands in the erection of the university. There was thus an early growth of enlightened public sentiment, but Judge Campbell points out that the whipping post for Indians and Negroes convicted of various offenses and for disorderly persons, was still maintained as late as 1831 and could be used by order of a single Justice. "The not less barbarous custom of selling the poor to the lowest bidder was also long kept up, with the disgusting spectacle of the ball and chain gang."

I cannot refrain from quoting entire another paragraph from Judge Campbell's wonderful book. Writing in the National Centennial year he said: "This year, of so much interest to the people of the United States, finds Michigan furnishing a hopeful illustration of the results of the experiment made a hundred years ago. She was then governed by martial law, with few people and but one civil settlement. For twenty years after the Declara-

tion of Independence, she remained under British control, and was intended to be reserved as a refuge for savages and a haunt of beasts of the chase. A few years later she fell again for a short time under the same governance, as much to the surprise of the captors as to the disgust and rage of the surrendered. But with the recapture came the beginning of progress. Multitudes of the Revolutionary patriots and of their children came westward to enjoy the inheritance earned by the struggle for independence.

"The laws and customs of the new land were fresh copies of those of the older colonies, changed only where change was needed. In every village churches and schools stood foremost in the estimation of the people, and ignorance, idleness and immorality were under the ban."

So much for general influences. The men who had the most to do with them must not be forgotten. Chief and foremost is the name of Cass, and with him many others of national and worldwide renown. While receiving influences on her development, Michigan has not been slow to assert herself upon others.

The University of Michigan is the pioneer of much of the modern system of American education.

The Michigan Supreme Court under the immortal quartet, Campbell, Cooley, Christiancy and Graves, continues and will continue to be quoted with respect, admiration and authority throughout the English-speaking world.

We have not selfishly absorbed, but have given to the world even more than we have received. If it is

well to listen to the wise man when he says, "Let us now praise famous men," where else do we need to turn? We have had statesmen in Cass, Lothrop, Dickinson and McClelland; Senators in Felch, Norvell, Howard and Chandler; Judges in the noble quartet I have mentioned; merchant princes, manufacturers, civil reformers, advocates, authors, educators, poets, artists, scientists, explorers, ethnologists, financiers, diplomats; whole-souled gentlemen, christian prelates, and devoted missionaries; kings of men, as noble as the noblest, like the Trowbridge you all know. We have had orators too, and we have them still. May the Mayor of this beautiful city long live in health and prosperity to charm us with words of wisdom, patriotism, good fellowship and attic grace.

May I in conclusion say something about the Detroit of my first acquaintance and recall a few of the events and circumstances of the times? I came here first in the early summer of 1845 in search of employment which I did not find. But I had better luck the next year, and worked for Freeman & Bro. who kept a grocery store on the corner of Brush street and Jefferson avenue. I spent portions of '45, '46 and '47 in your beautiful city. It was not then as beautiful as now. Many streets were not paved, and were sandy and sometimes very muddy. It seems to me now that down through the middle of Jefferson avenue was a plank road and that in the autumn and winter months the mud on each side of it used to be hub deep, and that portion of the avenue between Bates and Brush streets was the market place of the city, where stood loads of wood, hay and potatoes every day in the year except Sundays and holidays.

Garry Spencer, Justice of the Peace, before whom all infractions of city ordinances were tried, had his office on the upper side of the avenue near this market place and not infrequently a boisterous mob stood about his office door on the sidewalk, eager to learn, for how many days or dollars the various sentences were.

I think there were four good banks then in the city; the Michigan Insurance Company Bank, the Peninsular, the Farmers and Mechanics and the State Bank. They were all good always and when they quit they did it honorably. There is so much to write about concerning banks and bankers of Michigan in early days that would be entertaining but far too voluminous for this occasion.

There was a plague here in those early days known as fever and ague, that came in April and staid until December, leaving seeds for the next year's crop. Seventy-five per cent of the people of all ages had it each year and they shook at regular and irregular hours every other day. When the apples and peaches were ripe one of these shakers could grasp the trunk of a tree and before he was through shaking all the fruit would be harvested.

More than half a century has passed since my first visit to Detroit and every one of its years has brought to Detroit some improvement, and developed its industries, its beauty and its natural charm.

Its citizens may take just pride in it, for all Michigan is proud of it and in a peculiar way, it belongs to all Michigan, for it has been the key to the State's development and progress.

No boat ever plies the Great Lakes but some eye views admiringly the City of the Straits and its beautiful park. No stranger ever visited it without giving it its deserved tribute of praise and no traveller returning to it as to his home, but has noticed with eyes grown keener, sighted by wider observation, how richly nature has endowed Detroit and how ably and wisely its people have builded and adorned it.

And it seems most fitting that the people of Detroit should celebrate to-day two hundred years of progress and should give their meed of praise to those men who, by their bravery, their wisdom and their energy, have brought the city to its fair perfection, and going back over the long list, that they should delight to dwell on the far time of its romantic beginnings and picture to themselves a July day two hundred years ago when that brave soldier of France, Cadillac, building "better than he knew," laid the foundation of the most beautiful city of the West.

Cadillac, with a keen eye to its commercial importance, distinguished it as "*the porte ouvre* on this continent through which the king might go in and out to trade with his allies."

To none of these explorers did the future seem so hidden as to those who landed upon the banks of the Detroit river on the 24th of July, 1701.

The adventurer had come along years before, led by the legends and fables in which the Indian was then, and is now, prolific. The fountain of youth, pouring forth golden glories, was the *ignis fatuus* that lured their adventurous predecessors on to disappointment. The hard

promise of an existence in the wilderness and the privations incident thereto was all that the future seemed to have in store for them. How little did they realize, indeed how little do any of us realize, the ultimate effect of a present, and humble duty, well performed. To-day, in the crucible of two hundred years, we try their deeds and words; we go around about the zion of their building, mark well the foundations they laid, and we are certainly both privileged and happy in the discovery that all they said was marked with a sense of justice and of dignity, and that all they did was pregnant with the spirit of charity and hospitality.

So potent was the spirit of this baptism in their lives and labors that we are here to testify to the fullness thereof, in a day glorious to them, as also glorious to us.

It is indeed not among the least of the privileges which this delightful occasion has afforded me that I am permitted to lay an humble wreath along with the more pretentious chaplets that this occasion has woven for them. Among the many beautiful allusions to this celebration from the pulpits of this city on Sunday last I select two sentences which I wish to repeat and emphasize. It is this: "If God has a plan at all we cannot doubt that the dwelling places of man enter into that plan. Let us not, as we remember the first fort, and Cadillac, who built it, the first boat and the men who sailed it, forget the lakes and the river and God, who made them."

In closing I will give you a dialect poem written by Dr. Wm. Henry Drummond for this occasion.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

Two honder year ago, de worl' is purty slow,
Even folk upon dis countree's not so smart,
Den who is travel roun an' look out de pleasan' groun'
For geev de Yankee peop' a leetle start?
I'll tolle you who dey were; de beeg rough voyageurs
Wit' deir cousin w'at you call coureurs de bois,
Dat's fightin' all de tam, an' never care a dam,
An' ev'ry wan dem feller he's come from Canadaw.
Bapteme!
He's comin' all de way from Canadaw.

But he watch dem, le bon Dieu, for he's got some work to do,
An' he won't trus' evry body, no siree!
Only full-blood Canadian lak' Marquette an' Hennepin,
An' w'at you t'ink of Louis Verandrye?
On Church of Bonsecours! makin' ready for de tour,
See dem down upon de knee, all prayin' dere—
Wit' de paddle on de han' ev'ry good Canadian man
An' affer dey be finish, hooraw for anyw'ere!
Yass, sir!
Dey're ready now for goin' anyw'ere.

De nort' win' know dem well, an' de prarie grass can tell
How often it is trample by de ole tam botte sauvage—
An' grey wolf on hees den' kip very quiet, w'en
He hear dem boy a'singin' upon de long Portage,
An' de night would fin' dem lie wit' deir faces on de sky,
An' de breeze would come an' w'isper on deir ear
'Bout de wife an' sweetheart dere on Sorel and Trois Rivieres,
Dey may never leev' to see anoder year.
Dat's true,
Dey may never leev' to kiss anoder year.

An' you'll know de place dey go, from de canyon down below,
Or de mountain wit' hees nose above de cloud,
De lake among de hill, w'ere de grizzly drink his fill
Or de rapid on de reever roarin' loud,
Ax de wil' deer if de flash of de ole Tree reever sash
He don't see it on the woods of Illinois,
An' de musk ox as he go, w'ere de camp fire melt de snow,
De smell he still remember of tabac Canadien.
Ha! Ha!
It's hard forgettin' smell of tabac Canadien!

So ma frien' de Yankee man, he mus' try an' understan'
W'en he holler for dat flag de Star an' Stripe,
If he's leetle win' still lef', an' no danger hurt hese'f,
Den he better geev anoder cheer, ba cripe!
For de flag of La Belle France, dat show de way across
From Louisburg to Florida an' back,
So raise it ev'ry w'ere, lak' de ole tam voyageurs,
W'en you hear of de La Salle an' Cadillac.
Hooraw
For de flag of de La Salle an' Cadillac.

HISTORIC TABLETS AND MEMORIALS.

By Silas Farmer, City Historiographer.

In a city like Detroit with history regnant in almost every square, the definite marking of the sites of memorable events was too long neglected. The bells of St. Anne's for two centuries have tolled our age. Registrars' documents and other government achieves from the margin of the Seine proclaim our intimate relationship to the days of the Grand Monarch and to Richelieu, Mazarin, and Maintenon.

As we look at the yellow pages of the past, visions of the lily and the cross pass before us, gigantic pear trees loom aloft, fife and drum are heard, voyageurs and red coats march in review, low houses with plastered sides almost shut us in, and Indians, dogs and children throng the narrow streets.

In Detroit, localities where events of national importance transpired are not numerous, but sites that recall events of great local interest are abundant.

The educational value to our own people, especially to the youth of the city, of historical tablets was not the only consideration that inspired the placing of certain memorials. Visitors of the cultured and communicative class who become familiar with these bronze reminders, are sure to spread abroad the knowledge they obtain of remarkable and romantic details in the city's past.



THIS TABLET DESIGNATES THE SITE OF AN ENGLISH FORT ERECTED IN 1778 BY MAJOR R. B. LERNOULT AS A DEFENSE AGAINST THE AMERICANS. IT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED FORT SHELBY, IN HONOR OF GOV. ISAAC SHELBY, OF KENTUCKY, AND WAS DEMOLISHED IN 1826.

THE EVACUATION OF THIS FORT BY THE BRITISH AT 12 O'CLOCK NOON, JULY 11th, 1796, WAS THE CLOSING ACT OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

ON THAT DAY THE AMERICAN FLAG WAS FOR THE FIRST TIME RAISED OVER THIS SOIL, ALL OF WHICH WAS THEN KNOWN AS THE WESTERN TERRITORY BECOMING AT THAT TIME PART OF THE FEDERAL UNION.

EVACUATION DAY TABLET



THIS TABLET DESIGNATES THE SITE OF ONE OF THE GATEWAYS
OF FORT DETROIT. THE ORIGINAL STOCKADE WAS KNOWN AS
FORT PONTHARTAN AND WAS RECENT WHEN THE CITY
WAS FOUNDED IN 1701.

THROUGH THE GATEWAY HERE LOCATED PONTIAC, THE OTTAWA
CHIEF, WITH A GANG OF WILDLING PASSED ON MAY SEVENTH 1755
INTENDING TO SURPRISE AND MASSACRE THE CARREBOIS.
THE EXPOSURE OF HIS PLANS ON THE PREVIOUS DAY
CAUSED THE DEATH OF HIS PLANS AND GAVE THE
ENGLISH THE SUPREMACY IN THIS REGION UNTIL
THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

The first tablet erected in Detroit was that which was unveiled in connection with the celebration of the centennial of "Evacuation Day" on July 11, 1896. The tablet committee on that occasion consisted of Silas Farmer, A. H. Griffith and Rev. L. A. Arthur. It was the privilege of the writer to suggest that a tablet commemorating the evacuation, be placed at the Fort street entrance of the Federal Building then nearing completion, and located between Fort and Lafayette, Shelby and Wayne streets. This locality included a portion of the site of Fort Lernoult, afterwards named Fort Shelby, where on July 11, 1796, the American flag for the first time in this region was raised as the symbol of the United States government. Through the efforts of Hon. Don M. Dickinson a resolution passed both the United States Senate and House of Representatives on the same day, authorizing the placing of the tablet and directing that payment be made for the same.

The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

"This tablet designates the site of an English Fort erected in 1778 by Major R. B. Lernoult as a defense against the Americans. It was subsequently called Fort Shelby in honor of Gov. Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, and was demolished in 1826.

"The evacuation of this Fort by the British at 12 o'clock noon July 11th, 1796, was the closing act of the war of independence.

"On that day the American flag was for the first time raised over this soil. All of what was then known as the Western Territory becoming at that time part of the Federal Union."

About three years after the unveiling of the Evacuation Day tablet the writer interested the officers of the Michigan Mutual Life Insurance Company in the placing of a tablet on their building, and personally procured the tablet for them and supervised its erection.

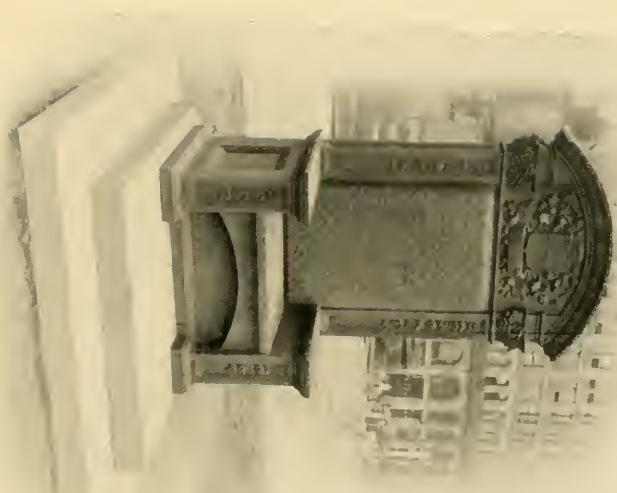
The following article then prepared gives facts of interest in connection with this tablet, and of the building on which it is located:

AN HISTORIC BUILDING ON HISTORIC GROUND.

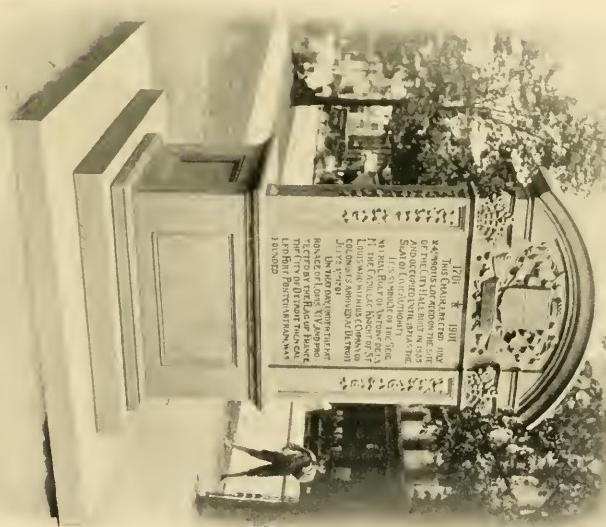
The building on the southwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street, facing on Jefferson Avenue, is one of the oldest business buildings in the city, and is much the oldest stone structure in Detroit. It is built of shell limestone, and in the earlier years of its history a coat of oil brought out many fine and fancifully shaped petrifications.

It has been successively occupied by banks, federal courts and postoffice. It is now owned and occupied by the Michigan Mutual Life Insurance Company. It was erected in the flush times of 1836, by the Bank of Michigan, which had been organized eighteen years before, and was then in successful operation, its stock at one time commanding forty per cent premium.

Six years after the erection of the building, and during the general financial crisis of 1837, the Bank went into liquidation, and on December 12, 1842, the property was sold at auction to the United States. Early in the following year, the Postoffice was established in the basement of the building, and the Federal Courts in the upper portion; the former remaining for six years, and the latter for twelve years or until 1855. The building was sold on October 4, 1855, to the Michigan Insurance Bank, which occupied it until its reorganization in 1865 as a national bank, under the title of The National Insurance Bank. In 1869 this bank was practically merged into the First



FRONT



CADILLAC CHAIR

BACK

National Bank which continued to occupy the building until 1896. The present owners began to occupy the upper portion of the building in 1872, and purchased the property in 1892. Since 1896 they have occupied the entire property.

The site of the building represents in concrete form the history of the city. In the rear, within a stone's throw, the first settlers landed, and here also year after year the Indians beached their canoes on the sandy shore. The structure stands on or near a portion of the site occupied by Cadillac and the original colony nearly two hundred years ago. The various enlargements of the original stockade actually included it within the limits of the fort. The moccasins of the savages, and the shoepacs of the early French, undoubtedly pressed every inch of the soil it occupies. As near as can be determined, it is located on the very spot where the gateway of the fort opened on May 7, 1763, to allow Pontiac and his warrior braves to enter, only to find from the preparations made that his plot had been discovered. Almost immediately in the rear of the building was the King's Garden, where was buried the body of Captain Dalyell, killed in the battle of Bloody Run July 31, 1763. A little to the west of the building, and in the same block, was the Indian Council House. To this place during the Revolutionary War hundreds of captives were brought by the Indians, and also thousands of human scalps.

For many years past the building has overlooked the financial centre of the city, and it stands as a sentinel of the "Wall Street" of Detroit.

The tablet was unveiled with appropriate exercises on Nov. 29, 1899. The inscription reads:

"This Tablet designates the site of one of the gateways of Fort Detroit. The original stockade was known as Fort Pontchartrain and was erected when the city was founded in 1701.

"Through the gateway here located Pontiac, the Ottawa chief, with a band of Indians, passed on May seventh, 1763, intending to surprise and massacre the garrison.

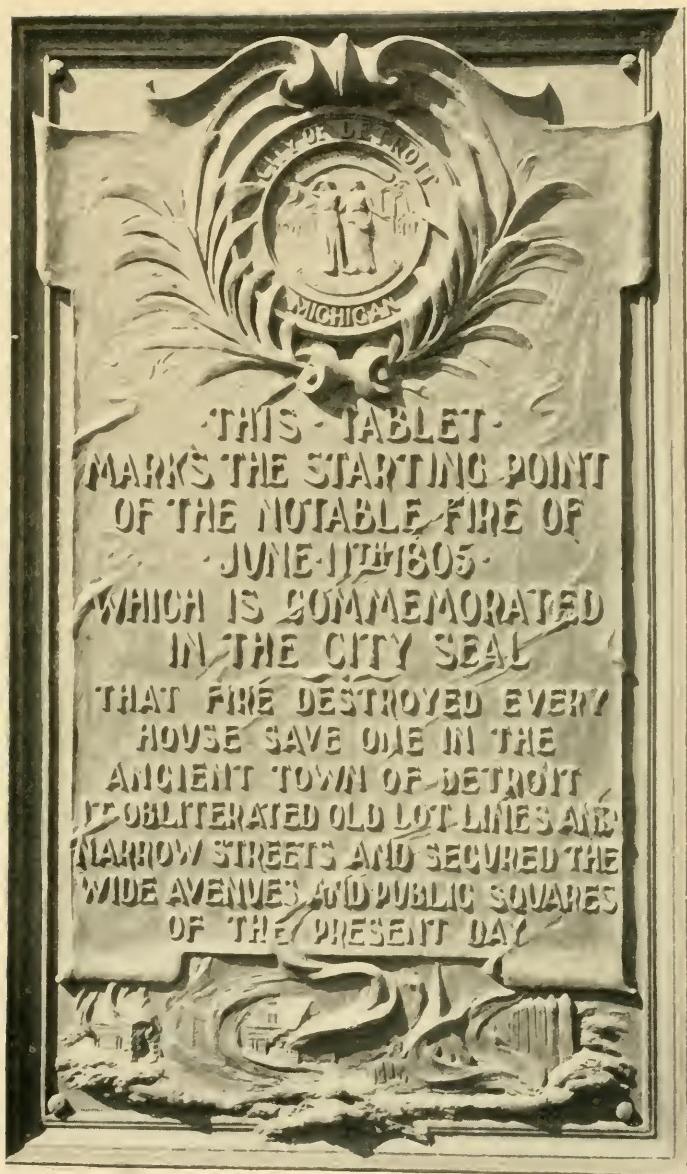
"The exposure of his plot on the previous day caused the defeat of his plans and gave the English the supremacy in this region until the close of the Revolutionary War."

The historic memorial known as the Cadillac Chair was unveiled as the first act of the Bi-Centennial celebration of July 24, 1901, and is located at the west end of Cadillac Square. It was procured chiefly through the efforts of Mr. J. C. Batcheldor. The programme of exercises is given elsewhere. The symbolism and suggestiveness of the chair and its site, as stated by the City Historiographer at the time of the unveiling, are as follows:

"Several months ago I suggested that in view of the historical events connected with this site it be marked with a stone seat as representing the seat of power. That idea has been elaborated in the stone chair of today and probably no more appropriate design could possibly be suggested for such an event as we celebrate.

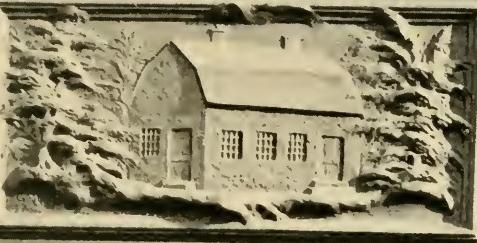
"A chair is a place in which to sit—it suggests occupancy—'the sitting under one's own vine and fig tree.' When Cadillac and his colonists seated themselves here, the settlement—the colony of Detroit—began.

"This site literally represents a seat or place of power. It was first occupied in 1835 by the city hall, which was erected out of the proceeds of the sale of lots located on the grounds of old Fort Shelby, given the city by congress in 1826. On this site the first state election was held



FIRE OF 1805 TABLET

•OLD-COUNCIL-HOUSE•



IN 1796 WHEN DETROIT CAME UNDER
THE RULE OF THE UNITED STATES
AN OLD STONE BUILDING KNOWN AS
AN INDIAN-COUNCIL-HOUSE WAS
HERE LOCATED—FOR MANY YEARS
IT WAS USED AS A COURT HOUSE—
AS MILITARY HEADQUARTERS, FOR
ELECTIONS, AND FOR TOWN MEETINGS
IT WAS DESTROYED IN THE GREAT FIRE
OF MAY 2^d, 1846.

IN 1827 THE FIRST CITY RESERVOIR WAS
LOCATED ON THE REAR OF THIS LOT AND
SIXTY YEARS LATER THE PROPERTY
PASSED INTO THE POSSESSION AND
OCCUPANCY OF ITS PRESENT OWNERS, THE
BOARD OF WATER COMMISSIONERS
OF THE CITY OF DETROIT

OLD COUNCIL HOUSE TABLET

and here from 1835 up to 1871 all city ordinances were enacted. On this site the several boards controlling the fire department, the water works, the schools and the police were created. In a very definite sense, therefore, the beginnings of the city were here, on the site we now occupy.

"It is especially appropriate that a memorial to Cadillac be erected on the square named in his honor, and it is a singular coincidence that in this year, when, for the first time, we have 'one-man' boards in several city departments we should dedicate this chair to the memory of the founder of the city who most emphatically illustrated 'one-man' rule. Louis XIV., who then held the sceptre of France, said: 'I am the state.' He was absolute in France; Cadillac was equally so at Detroit.

"Let us imagine Cadillac in this chair of justice two hundred years ago. He had the power of life and death. Practically the only restriction upon his acts was the fact that harsh treatment would weaken the settlement and thus injure himself. There is no evidence that he was severe, but his tenants were not allowed to kill certain kinds of game. Their grain must be ground at his mill, and their bread baked in his ovens. The blacksmith had to shoe his horses, permits had to be obtained from him before trade or traffic of any sort could be carried on, and his leases stipulated for various personal rights.

"Let us be glad that we today live under the rule of no seigneur or king, but under the stars and stripes."

The inscription reads as follows:

This Chair, erected July 24, 1901,
is located on the site of the City Hall
built in 1835 and occupied
until 1871 as the seat of Civic Authority.

It is Symbolic of the Seigneurial Rule
of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, Knight
of St. Louis, who, with his company
of Colonists, arrived at Detroit, July 24, 1701.

On that day, under the patronage of Louis XIV
and protected by the Flag of France, the
City of Detroit, then called Fort Pontchartrain,
was founded.

The Fire Tablet commemorating the notable fire of June 11th, 1805, is placed at the west end of the Palms building on the N. E. corner of Jefferson avenue and Shelby street. It was unveiled August 16, 1901, the Fire Department giving a display of modern methods in contrast with those of ninety-six years previous. The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

"This tablet marks the starting point of the notable fire of June 11, 1805, which is commemorated in the City Seal.

"That fire destroyed every house save one in the ancient town of Detroit. It obliterated old lot lines and narrow streets, and secured the wide avenues and public squares of the present day."

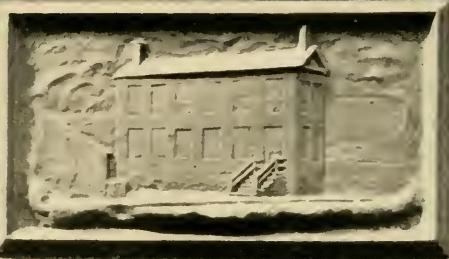
The Old Council House Tablet was put in position in October, 1901. It is located on the Water Works building, on the S. W. corner of Jefferson avenue and Randolph street.

The inscription reads:

"In 1796, when Detroit came under the rule of the United States, an old stone building known as an Indian council house was here located. For many years it was used as a court house, as military headquarters, for elections, and for town meetings. It was destroyed in the great fire of May 9, 1848.

"In 1827 the first city reservoir was located on the rear of this lot, and sixty years later the property passed into the possession and occupancy of its present owners, the Board of Water Commissioners of the City of Detroit."

The most elaborate tablet is that erected in honor of Maj.-Gen. Anthony Wayne, after whom Wayne county is named. It is located on the south pylon at the main



THE ORIGINAL BUILDING OF THE
UNIVERSITY / OF MICHIGAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, WHICH
SINCE 1837 HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED
AT ANN ARBOR WAS ORIGINALLY LOCATED
AT DETROIT AND OCCUPIED A BUILDING
ERECTED FOR THE PURPOSE IN 1817-18
ON THE SPOT HERE DESIGNATED.

THE FIRST PROFESSORSHIPS WERE HELD
BY THE REV JOHN MONTIETH OF THE
FIRST PROTESTANT CHURCH AND THE
REV GABRIEL RICHARD OF STANLEY'S
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

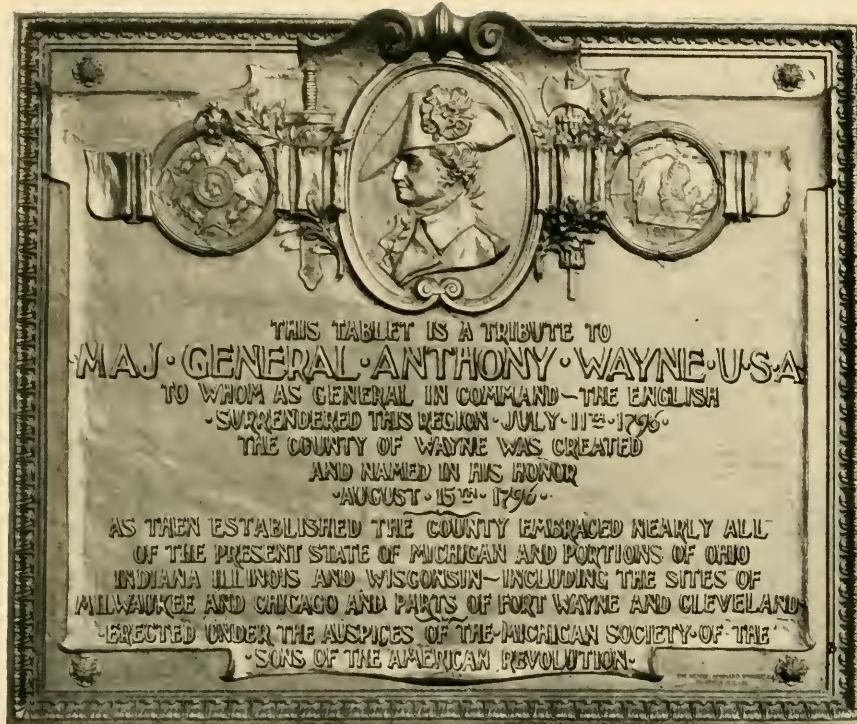
FROM 1844 UNTIL DEMOLISHED IN 1858
THE BUILDING WAS OCCUPIED BY THE
BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE
CITY / OF DETROIT.

THE FIRST SUNDAY SCHOOL IN MICHIGAN
BEGAN ITS SESSIONS IN THIS BUILDING
OCTOBER 4TH 1818.

THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ASSOCIATION
OF DETROIT.

A.D. 1901.

ORIGINAL UNIVERSITY BUILDING TABLET



GEN. WAYNE TABLET

entrance to the County Building on Randolph street, and faces Cadillac Square. It had its inception in a resolution offered by the writer at a meeting of the Sons of the American Revolution, held April 15, 1901. It was paid for jointly by the said society and by the Board of Auditors of the county. It was formally unveiled on Oct. 19, 1901.

The inscription reads:

"This tablet is a triubte to Major-General Anthony Wayne, U. S. A., to whom, as general in command, the English surrendered this region July 11, 1796. The County of Wayne was created and named in his honor, August 15th, 1796.

"As then established, the county embraced nearly all of the present state of Michigan and portions of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, including the sites of Milwaukee and Chicago and parts of Fort Wayne and Cleveland.

"Erected under the auspices of the Michigan Society of the Sons of the American Revoiution."

As a result of the efforts of the Tablet Committee of the Bi-Centennial, the Alumni of the University of Michigan, in March, 1902, placed a tablet marking the location of the original building of the University. This tablet is located on the laboratory of Farrand, Williams & Clark, on the west side of Bates street, midway between Congress and Larned streets.

The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

"The University of Michigan, which since 1837 has been established at Ann Arbor, was originally located at Detroit, and occupied a building erected for the purpose in 1817-18 on the spot here designated.

"The first professorships were held by the Rev. John Monteith of the First Protestant Church, and the Rev. Gabriel Richard of St. Anne's Roman Catholic Church.

"From 1844 until demolished in 1858 the building was occupied by the Board of Education of the City of Detroit.

"The First Sunday School in Michigan began its sessions in this building October 4, 1818.

"This tablet is erected by the University of Michigan Association of Detroit. A. D. 1901."

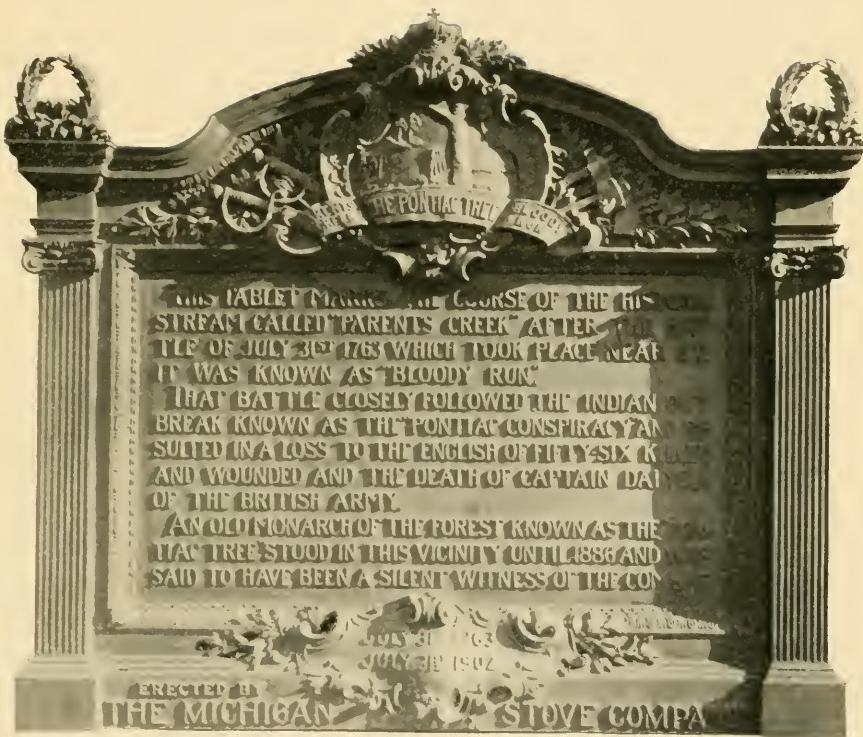
At the time the tablet marking the site of the gateway of Fort Detroit, through which Pontiac passed on May 7, 1763, was placed, one of the officers of the Michigan Stove Company promised that the site of the battle of "Bloody Bridge" or "Bloody Run," where Pontiac defeated the English on July 31, 1763, would be also marked.

The company named own the site of the so-called "Pontiac Tree" and also the locality through which the stream known as Parent's Creek or "Bloody Run" emptied into the Detroit river. They procured a handsome tablet, and with appropriate exercises, it was unveiled on the one hundred and thirty-ninth anniversary of the battle, July 31, 1902.

The inscription on the tablet, as phrased by the City Historiographer, is as follows:

"This tablet marks the course of the historic stream called Parent's creek. After the battle of July 31st, 1763, which took place near by, it was known as Bloody Run. That battle closely followed the Indian outbreak known as the Pontiac Conspiracy and resulted in a loss to the English of fifty-six killed and wounded and the death of Capt. Dalyell, of the British army.

"An old monarch of the forest, known as the Pontiac tree, stood in this vicinity until 1886 and was said to have been a silent witness of the combat."



"BLOODY RUN," OR PONTIAC TREE TABLET

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ERRATA.

- Page 28, tenth line—For John D. Foley, read John S. Foley.
- Page 29, twentieth line—For bark, read cutter.
- Page 32, sixteenth line—For one, read our.
- Page 41, ninth line—For emerand, read emerande.
- Page 51, last line—For dramatic, read dramatis.
- Page 67, second line—For McGoldric, read McGolric.
- Page 69, eighth line—For McGoldric, read McGolric.
- Page 83, twenty-first line—Mrs. should read Miss Isabel Weir.
- Page 117, twenty-first line—For Father D'Halle, read De L'Halle.
- Page 119, ninth line—For 2,000, read 20,000.

In Memory
of
Miss Isabel Catherine Weir.

Died
February 11th, A. D. 1903.

Young, joyous, gifted, gracious ;
Constant to duty ;
Strong in a faith and a piety that were the
inspiration of every generous deed ;
Prompt and nobly self-sacrificing in charity.

She possessed in a marked degree the characteristic
virtues and graces of the admirable Madame Cadillac
impersonated by her at the Bi-Centenary ; and to her
the publishing committee dedicate this page of the
Memorial History.

In Memoriam

Silas Farmer

Silas Farmer died suddenly
on the morning of Sunday,
December 28th, 1902.

A scholarly and accurate historian, an illustrious author, an honored citizen, a Christian gentleman.

Of unblemished character, of unswerving integrity, of sweet and pure piety.

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To him, as chairman of the special committee on publication of Bi-Centenary Proceedings, this page is dedicated by the act and authority of the committee.



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